

THE OCTOBER 1948

# CLASSICAL JOURNAL

138575

An Address on Horace . . . *The Rt. Hon. Lord Soulbury*

The Aeneas Legend on Coins . . . *Thomas S. Duncan*



#### THE NYMPH ARETHUSA

Greek coins are very often works of art in miniature. The two sketches opposite are derived from silver coins (tetradrachms) of Syracuse, a city famous for the artistic quality of its coins and for the artists who designed them. These two coins were minted during the reign of the tyrant Hiero, between 478 and 450 B.C. In the treatment of the hair, the upper coin resembles the famous "Demarcteion," a medallion of ten drachmae struck in commemoration of the defeat of the Carthaginians by Gelo in 480 B.C., although the eye is not done in the manner of the more famous coin. In the lower coin, the hair is much less stiff, and indeed, seems rather modern. The eyes and mouth suggest that the artist might have been the same as that of the upper coin. (Cf. Boehringer, *Coins of Syracuse*, No.'s 519, 515.)

The portraits very likely represent the fountain-nymph Arethusa. The dolphins are characteristic of the coins of Syracuse and other maritime cities.

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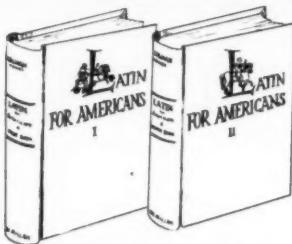
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ITALIAN BUFFALO

THESE ANIMALS, photographed near Paestum, to the south of Naples, are true buffalo (unlike their American cousins in the great family of bovidae, which are properly bison). They are also cousins of the domestic cow or ox (*bos taurus*). Natives of Africa and imported long ago into Italy (probably from Egypt), they are frequently used as draft animals in southern Italy. Buffalo are noted everywhere as hard workers, but they have a disagreeable habit of charging at strangers (as American soldiers quickly learned in the Philippines).

# THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

An address delivered before the Horatian Society at its dinner held at the Savoy Hotel on 2nd July, 1947, in London, England.

Volume 44 Number 1  
OCTOBER 1948

“Smiling Wisdom”

## An Address on Horace

By the Rt. Hon. Lord Soulbury  
with an introduction by the Rt. Hon. L. S. Amery, C.H.

AT THE First Annual Dinner of the Horatian Society held since 1939, at the Savoy Hotel on July 2nd, 1947, the Chairman, the Rt. Hon. L. S. Amery, C. H., said:—

We are met tonight to welcome back among us, after many grim if glorious years, an old friend. I might almost call him an old school friend, though we may in those early days have found him more difficult and loved less than we do now. What brings us together is not only our admiration for Horace as a poet, but also our affection for him as a man. As a poet Horace is certainly among the great ones, if not one of the handful of the very greatest. Even among the Latins we may admit that he cannot rival the fervour and majestic sweep of the great passages in Lucretius or touch us quite so intimately as Catullus with his unaffected gaiety or his heart-broken despair. But he remains unmatched for sheer artistry and unequalled in range, from the light chaff of *Donec gratus* or of the reproach to Barine to the philosophy of *Eheu fugaces* and to the *Odes* like those on Regulus, the Battle of the Metaurus or the death of Cleopatra which take us to the heart of the great moments of history.

But Horace appears to us as a man and not only as a writer. He was one who touched life at every point. He knew the great life as

well as the gay life, the depths of adversity as well as the summits of literary success. He is supreme as the poetical exponent of the philosophy of cheerful acceptance just because it was a philosophy which he had to practice in his own life.

Indeed it was only through misfortune that Horace came to be a poet at all. It was assuredly not for a poetical career that his nobly ambitious father devoted such care and expense to his education. It was not the fame of a Calvus or Catullus but that of a Cicero, or even of a Caesar, that the risen freedman proudly dreamt of. The orator's renown, the growing retinue of clients, then the *cursus honorum*, the Consul's *fasces*, a triumph even—why should not a gifted youth from Apulia rival the achievement of a young rustic from Arpinum? It was no mere dream, for it was all there in young Horace. There must have been some outstanding quality of personality and leadership to secure for an untried boy of 23 the post of legionary tribune, the equivalent of lieutenant-colonel. Nor is there any reason to think—apart from a jesting echo of Archilochus about a wisely lost shield—that the young tribune showed any lack of skill or courage in action. Suppose Philippi had gone the other way. Rising from one command to another young Horace

might have begun his career in the restored republic with a reputation made in the field and then achieved all his father's dreams. If so, he might still be remembered, by scholars at least, as a Roman orator and statesman of some eminence.

Instead of that in one day of disaster—*una dies infesta*—he lost all; not only his property but all chance of ever playing a part in public life. He was glad enough with clipped wings—*humilis decisus pennis*—humbly to take an obscure clerical post and eke out its inadequacy by scribbling. As he scribbled he began to find himself, to work harder and harder at the new vein which he discovered and in the end to win, not only friendship and fame, but to realise in ways undreamt of the patriotic ambitions of his youth, to play his part in the building up of that new Rome which rose from the ashes of the Civil Wars, and for himself to earn an immortality which

he proudly believed would equal that of Rome herself. He has indeed far transcended it. Long, long centuries have passed since the high priest and silent vestal last climbed the Capitoline steep. But Horace still holds his wider empire in the minds and hearts of men. The Pyramids indeed still stand, but stripped of the glory of their casing of polished granite. Horace's lines have lost no trace of their polished perfection in 2,000 years.

But we have not come here to listen to your Chairman, but to Lord Soulbury, a scholar, a statesman and an administrator whom Horace would have welcomed as *ad unguem factus homo*. I have known Lord Soulbury for many long years as a most effective colleague in Parliament and as the administrator of a great social undertaking and more recently as one who *victor eis partibus*, as Chairman of an important mission to Ceylon, added a new Dominion to the circle of the Common-

#### Introductory Note

By the Rt. Hon. L. S. Amery, C. H.

It is no longer the thing for English statesmen to regale the House of Commons with Latin quotations. But, happily, the tradition that public life and the humanities go naturally together is still far from extinct. Mr. Asquith was, perhaps, the last Prime Minister who may be said to have been in the first flight of classical scholars. But Mr. Baldwin loved browsing in the ancient authors and once delivered an inspiring address on the subject of the classical studies, while Mr. Churchill ranks high as a historian, not only of his own times and actions, but of those of his great ancestor, the Duke of Marlborough. My old friend Lord Soulbury has followed the same guiding stars. A brilliant classical student at Oxford, he soon afterwards, like Horace himself, exchanged his learned studies for a soldier's life in the First World War. Unlike Horace, however, he had no occasion to cast away his shield and fly from a stricken field. On the contrary he returned to civilian life adorned with more than one high military decoration.

Always anxious for service in the political

field, he had tried unsuccessfully to enter Parliament even before the war. It was not until 1929 that he achieved that first step on the ladder to political promotion. But the subsequent steps were both rapid and varied, leading him by way of under-secretaryships in Education and Agriculture, to the headships of the Ministries of Pensions, Public Works and Education. So far his labours had been confined to the domestic field. But in 1944, as chairman of the Ceylon Commission he was responsible for laying down the framework of the constitution under which Ceylon has now started on its new career as a fully self-governing British Dominion.

Horace, had fate willed otherwise, might have earned fame as a soldier or statesman. Lord Soulbury might have won his place as a classical scholar. Just as Horace, the poet, still cherished the great political and patriotic ideals of his youth to which his greatest odes give expression, so, too, Lord Soulbury, in the midst of many strenuous and often pedestrian political tasks has never lost touch with his early studies. His address on Horace is the fruit of those studies mellowed by the light of a far-ranging experience of public affairs.

wealth. Tonight however it is not the statesman or administrator but the scholar whom we shall listen to, one who not only as a scholar, but as a man, is indeed fitted to tell you something of Horace as the most human of poets. As for me, *verbum non amplius addam.*

Lord Soulbury said:—

**W**HEN MY FRIEND Lord Mersey suggested that I should address the Horatian Society, I was immensely flattered, but also very much surprised, for I could not imagine what had induced him to give me such an invitation. I have written nothing about Horace, I have never even published a translation of his poems! In fact my only public references to him consist of a solitary quotation in an official Report and a few tags contributed now and then to a Parliamentary debate.

In political circles a classical allusion may receive that respectful appreciation which is sometimes accorded to the mysterious and unfamiliar. In any event it is speedily forgotten. But here it is another matter altogether—*Nescit vox missa reverti.*

Nevertheless Lord Mersey has earned my gratitude. Having undertaken to face this ordeal, I have had to prepare for it, and after the neglect of many years read my Horace again.

But to be quite frank with you, this is not a return to allegiance, for during my school and university days—now alas some forty years ago—my friendship with the poet was inclined to be stiff and formal. He evoked more interest than affection. No *plagous Orbilius*, no Mr. Wackford Squeers, was to blame for that—far from it—but I found it difficult to enjoy literature, and particularly poetry, under any form of direction, though I am well aware that without it, I should probably have been ill-equipped to enjoy any literature at all. Like the flute-player at the Pythian games, the school-boy *Didicit prius extimuitque magistrum*. Of the sixty or more generations of students that have thumbed and construed Horace, not a few, I fear, on leaving school vowed never to read

a line of him again. Horace himself seems to have had some inkling of what might happen, for he warns his book, the first book of the *Epistles*, that there is a grim fate in store—

*Hoc quoque te manet ut pueros elementa docentem*

*Occupet extremis in vicis balba senectus.*

Yet I think Horace would not be displeased to know—and I hope he does know it—that he has been for nearly two thousand years, and perhaps still is, a staple feature of the diet of grammar schools all over Europe, and as far as *ultimos orbis Britannos!*

My own experience leads me to think that the friendship of Horace should not be cultivated too early in life. I have not reached this conclusion because, as Quintilian says, “there are passages which I should be unwilling to explain to a class”—there certainly are—but because I feel that thoroughly to understand and enjoy Horace it makes a good deal of difference,

*Maturusne senex an adhuc florente juvena  
Fervidus.*

Like many others, when I was young, I sought for poetry that streamed red-hot from the crucible of passion and found it in Catullus. Those were the days of the *da mi basia mille, deinde centum, the meae deliciae, mei lepores, the odi et amo*. But now—*non sum qualis eram*—and it is many years since Plancus was Consul. The thrilling frenzy of Catullus has yielded to the sanity, the good humour, the tolerance, the comforting companionship of the man of the world—Horace. And yet, there are times like tonight when, warmed by your “fiery” Falernian, I feel ready to return to my old love and to exchange all the odes of Horace for a single poem of Catullus, and every Chloe, Pholoe, Lydia and Lycoris for one Lesbia.

But such moments are few and fleeting, and if you ask me which of the two poets I should now like to live with and whose friendship I should choose, it would no longer be Catullus.

Can you imagine a more congenial comrade than Horace? It is small wonder that he captivated Augustus and Maecenas, the Em-

peror, his Prime Minister and the high society of Rome. His consummate artistry and literary skill apart, the Roman grandees must have delighted in his abundant fun, his scintillating wit, his loyal friendship, his charm.

If a friend should ask you to give him a letter of introduction to some great personage—always a difficult letter to write—take as your model Horace's letter to the future Emperor, Tiberius, on behalf of his friend Septimius, a perfect example of unobsequious tact. If you can write anything half as courteous and tactful, your friend's good fortune is assured.

I like to picture Horace to myself—*brevis atque obesus*—a small fat man—*Epicuri de grege porcus*—shifting, as he tells us, the clods of earth in his garden with his neighbours looking over the fence and grinning at him. "It's stature you lack," wrote Augustus, "not girth," and, rather unkindly, suggested that the circumference of his book should be *όγκωδεστατος*—very well rounded, like his stomach.

He was of a dark complexion—olive-skinned we should call him—and, at about 45 years old, when he finished his first book of *Epistles*, going prematurely grey.

Professor Craig thinks that a marble bust in the Sir John Soane Museum is a veritable likeness of Horace—"It conveys," he says, "the impression of a little, mild, pensive or melancholy man, with clearly marked eyebrows and straight nose and a somewhat dogged chin." Dogged—I can well believe that he was—*tenacem propositi virum*. His independence, his whole outlook on life confirm it, but I should not have thought of portraying him as pensive or melancholy. His nature must have been sunny and light-hearted. He was, as he says, *solitus aptus*, and though quick to lose his temper, quick to recover it; and who but a man with a serene and happy mind could have written?

*Grata sume manu neu dulcia differ in annum  
Ut quocunque loco fueris, vixisse libenter  
Te dicas.*

Those last words recall the dying words of the great master of Balliol, Benjamin Jowett—"Thank God for my life." And yet, as Horace

grew older, he may, like many of us, have become disillusioned and saddened, and too often felt black care seated behind the horseman.

I shall not try to dissect the poetry of Horace lest I be tempted to emulate the learned editor of a certain school edition of the *Epistles*—who in commenting upon the passage—

*Quaeritur argentum puerisque beata creandis  
Uxor*

added the note "pueris creandis—dative of work contemplated"! Nor shall I discuss the curiosa felicitas of Horace or pass any judgement upon the relative merits of this or that poem, except to say that I think his best work is the first book of the *Epistles* and that the 4th *Epistle* is the best in the book.

Few poems in literature have surpassed the grace and beauty of this letter to Tibullus. "Gentle-hearted Tibullus," wrote George Gissing in the Ryecroft papers, "of whom there remains to us a poet's portrait more delightful than anything of the kind in Roman literature"—

*tacitum silvas inter reptare salubres,  
Curantem quidquid dignum sapiente bonoque  
est.*

Poor George Gissing! He tells us what it cost him to buy his copy of Tibullus—of the terrible conflict of intellectual desire and bodily need. Sixpence was the price and sixpence was all he had—all he had in the world; and when he found pencilled on the last page—"Perlegi Oct. 4, 1792," he liked to imagine that nearly 100 years ago some poor scholar—poor and eager as himself—had bought this volume with drops of his blood and enjoyed the reading of it even as he did. Horace addresses Tibullus as the candid critic of his talks—his *Satires*. I have no qualification whatever to fill such a role, but I confess that the poetry of Horace does not make that appeal to me which no doubt it would have made had I lived in the 18th century. My old-fashioned Victorian temperament disposes me to require from a poet something of the divine afflatus and "the impassioned expression," as Wordsworth says, "which is in the

countenance of all science." I rate *Ingenium* above *Ars*.

The art of Horace is beyond question—his poems are, as he says, "refined ten times over to the test of a close cut finger nail." Anatole France counsels a writer, "Caressez longtemps votre phrase, elle finira par sourire"—the phrases of Horace bear that finish throughout. Yet in reading his poetry it seems to me that the workmanship is better than the jewel. The diamonds are not of the finest water, but the craftsmanship of their setting is superb, and where else in Roman or indeed in any poetry can you find the amazing compression of language that has preserved the epigrams and aphorisms of Horace throughout the centuries?

*Rusticus expectat dum defuat annis, Ira furor brevis est, Oderunt peccare boni virtutis amore*—Many a long moral essay could be summed up in those few words.

*Dimidium facti qui coepit habet: sapere aude:*

"The start is half the battle; so have the courage of your convictions."

*Imperat aut servit collecta pecunia cuique.*

"A big balance at the bank is either one's master or servant."

There is truth in that aphorism, though the special circumstances of today have, in most cases, robbed it of its relevance! And there are hosts of other lines that have become proverbial and no small part of the wisdom of western civilisation.

But it is not Horace the poet that so much intrigues and entrances me as Horace the man, the man of "good sense, good feeling, good taste." Few poets have been so self-revealing, or have had such a kindly, sociable self to reveal. Though Gibbon declares that "I" is the most impertinent of the pronouns, we should be great losers if Horace had been less impertinent. To me he has become the most charming and sympathetic character in the whole world of literature—the only rival I can think of is Montaigne. You will remember that Saint Beuve calls him the "French Horace."

To read of Horace's unbounded happiness at the return of Pompeius Varus, the demobilised soldier, *meorum prime sodalium*,

strikes a responsive note in our hearts. None of us could have framed such a delightful welcome, but in recent years many of us have felt the same joy and no doubt, within the limits of our straitened resources, have formed the same resolution to celebrate the occasion—

*Non ego sanius  
Bacchabor Edonis: recepto  
Dulce mihi furere est amico.*

What an experience to have accompanied Horace on his journey to Brundisium, and to have been with him when he picked up Maecenas at Anxur along with Nerva and Capito, on their way to arrange a settlement between Octavianus Caesar and Antony! Travel-tired they reached Formiae, where Murena put them up for the night and Capito provided dinner. Then the next day dawns—*multo gratissima*—and I can well believe it—for at Sinuessa Plotius, Varius and Virgil join the party:—

*Animae, quales neque candidiores  
Terra tulit: neque quis me sit divinctior alter.*

"What embraces there were," says Horace, "what transports of joy!" I can see the fat, little man dancing round his friends, chattering and gesticulating in ecstatic happiness at the re-union.

*Nil ego contulerim jucundo sanus amico.*

A few days later at Canusium, Varius leaves the company, *flentibus . . . maestus amicis*—It is sad to think that the next parting with Varius was for ever—the sleep of death lay upon him and wrung from Horace the poignant grief that asked—

*Quis desiderio sit pudor aut modus  
Tam cari capit?*

and ended with the resigned and sorrowful cry—

*Durum: sed levius fit patientia  
Quidquid corrigerere est nefas.*

"Tis hard to bear. Patience alone, my friend, may help us to endure that which we may not mend."

Lovers of Montaigne will be reminded of his bitter anguish at the death of his friend

Etienne de la Boetie. "From the day that I lost him," says Montaigne, "I have had but a languishing existence. My very pleasures instead of consoling, double my grief. We were halves throughout and by outliving him I feel I am defrauding him of his share. I had grown so accustomed to be his double in all things, times and places, I now feel I am not more than a fragment of myself," and elsewhere he gives an account of his friendship that would have delighted Horace—"If I were pressed" he says "to say why I loved him, I could only answer, 'Parce que c'estoit luy: parce que c'estoit moy.'"

Another quality that I greatly admire in Horace is his sturdy independence. Not many men in his position and in those days would have refused the offer of Augustus to make him his private secretary. It needed some courage to turn that proposal down; and I admire Augustus, for not every man in his position would have taken the refusal in such good part and without a shadow of resentment. It was no small proof of independence to have written to Maecenas, his great and powerful benefactor, as Horace did, excusing himself for breaking his promise to return to Rome in five days, and staying on his Sabine farm for the whole of August. Maecenas seems to have taken it very well, but I can think of one or two Prime Ministers who might have been very much annoyed. Horace told him that he wouldn't barter his freedom for all the wealth of Araby. Like Montaigne, though no born enemy of Court life, he had no love for the servitude of the Court. Not that he was indifferent to the society of highly placed personages—far from it—but as he says,

*Dulcis inexpertis cultura potenter amici,  
Expertus metuit,*

and whatever other failings he may have had, snobbishness was not one of them.

He came, as you know, of humble stock and was born in poor circumstances. His father was a freedman and had got a job as a minor revenue official—some said he was a vendor of salted fish. Curiously enough, according to Scaliger, Montaigne's forbears

were herring-dealers. Horace makes no attempt to conceal his origin—on the contrary he proclaims it—*Me libertino patre natum* almost becomes a refrain. For a man who had risen to intimate friendship with the great ones in an aristocratic society, this can have been no easy thing to do. Even admitting his lowly beginnings he might have been tempted to declare like the French general, "je suis mon ancêtre!" But not so Horace, and nothing endears him so much to me as his devotion to his father—the petty tax-collector who scraped and saved enough from the produce of his poor little farm to take his son to Rome and give him the best education that money could buy. He kept watch and ward over him in the great city and accompanied him to school, like the slave in charge of a rich man's son, and finally sent him to the University at Athens.

Horace immortalises him in the first book of the *Satires* and never was tribute more richly deserved. His good repute, the affection of his friends, success in life—of all this *causa fuit pater. Nil me poeniteat sanum patris huius* says Horace, and "if I had to live my life again and could choose as parents the richest and most powerful in the land, I would remain content with my own." Here Montaigne and Horace meet once more, for Montaigne could never say enough in praise of his father. He took immense trouble with Montaigne's education and his grateful son has written—"Having had the best and most indulgent of fathers that ever was . . . I do not cease to cherish his memory and embrace his love and companionship in a perfect and very living union." What a pleasant little party these two fathers and their sons would make in Elysium!

Horace tells us that in olden days it was considered wise *publica privatis secernere*—to draw a line between things public and private. Acting on that principle, I have applied myself so far to an appreciation of certain personal qualities of Horace—his friendliness, his independence, his filial devotion. Anyone in any state of life may derive pleasure and profit from his example.

But Horace is also well worth the attention

of those in high places, for his poems are full of good counsel on public affairs. The political and social problems of mankind have not really changed very much during the centuries. Naturally they loom larger and closer to us, and they seem far more intricate and complex; perhaps they are—but in principle and in outline they are much the same as they were two thousand years ago. The differences are in degree and scale, not in kind.

Inventions and science have made colossal advances since then, but I do not believe that as men, inventors and scientists, or indeed any of us, are very different from the contemporaries of Horace.

*Audax omnia perpeti  
Gens humana ruit per vetitum nefas*

is not a bad motto for an atom bomb factory.

Horace was not, and had no ambition to be, a politician—

*Non ego ventosae plebis suffragia venor*

and I don't blame him. He knew that

*Virtus . . . non sumit aut ponit secures  
arbitrio popularis aurea*

and he sought no honours from the *Mobilium turba Quiritium!* But he was a patriot and devoted to his country. He had a horror of extremists and loved tolerance and moderation—*aurea mediocritas*—and we can see what has happened in Italy and other countries when that quality was absent. They have learnt when it was too late the truth of *quicquid delirant reges, plectuntur Achivi.* More than one vanished empire might take for its epitaph

*Vis consili expers mole ruit sua,*

and there are still parts of Europe of which Horace would say,

*Qui metuens vivet liber mihi non erit unquam,*

"Who lives in fear is no free man for me." When delegates arrive at an international conference it is just as well to recollect that

*Caelum, non animum, mutant qui trans mare currunt.*

In a country where laws and regulations and

rules and orders proliferate, it is fitting to ask the question that Horace asked—

*Quid leges sine moribus  
Vanae proficiunt?*

a suitable inscription for a black market!

There is both salutary encouragement and warning for reformers in the line

*Est quadam prodire tenus, si non datur ultra,*

and if any men think that they are the unique originators of some new and glorious era, let us remind them that many heroes lived before Agamemnon.

In times like the present

*Aequam memento rebus in arduis  
Servare mentem*

are good lines to remember; so are

*Rebus angustis animosus atque  
Fortis appare,*

which might be rendered

"Don't cry stinking fish when your country is in a mess." Yet, as in Italy twenty centuries ago, so today we may well exclaim—

*O navis, referent in mare te novi  
Fluctus . . .*

*Tu, nisi ventis  
Debas ludibrium, cave.*

I must now take my leave of this remarkable man. To say anything about him that has not already been said—and very much better said—by thousands of scholars from Quintilian to Mr. L. P. Wilkinson, has been far beyond my powers.

*Non cuivis homini contingit adire Corinthum.*

But at least it has been a delight to me to repair my friendship with this graceful and lovable poet and to find and enjoy in him what André Gide so much enjoyed in Montaigne—"Une sagesse souriante."

Perhaps the English can appreciate better than most, his gentle irony, his habit of understatement, his humour—not unlike the English sense of humour—in the words of Dr. G. M. Trevelyan "one-quarter cynical and three-quarters kindly."

Very few poets have been able to laugh at

themselves—Horace could. He was not a vain man, but he was far too good an artist not to know that by his work he had completed a monument to his memory more imperishable than bronze.

Those of us who are of the older generation owe such a debt of gratitude to Horace that for the sake of those who come after we should do all we can to keep his memory

bright and burnished. That is what your Society is doing and I trust that Horace will never have any reason for fearing, as once he feared, that the people of Britain would be churlish to such a guest as he.

*Sir Edward Marsh, K.C.V.O., also spoke in the place of Mr. Ramsay, the retiring Master of Magdalene, who had to leave early.*

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### Liber Animalium

## VACCA CONTENTA

**V**ACCAE VIRTUS est nobis lac praeoere ac contenta esse. Talis videtur esse illa cuius imago aut in cistulis papyraceis sodii bicarbonati aut in vasibus stanneis lactis condensati imprimi solet. Talis quoque videtur fuisse illa vacca, altero cornu pravo insignis, quea ab virgine omnino derelicta mulgeri solebat. Fieri quidem saepe potest ut vacca alias contenta iram subitam ostendat. Talis fuit ista quea lanterna calce perversa Chicaginem urbem incendit. Inter fabulas pueriles narratur de vacca quae trans lunam transiluit. Fuitne insana ambitione altissimi saltus faciendi impulsa est? Dici vix potest. Contenta saltem non fuit.

Antiquitus mos erat vaccas a tergo, sicut nunc capellas, mulgere. Nunc mos est a parte

dextra mulgere, quod melius est. Nam si vacca parum contenta est, calce mulctrum modo pervertit. Sin autem a tergo mulgeatur, et mulctrum et eum qui mulgeat praccipitet.

Nuper mos ortus est vaccarum machina mulgendarum. Hoc modo plurimae simul mulgeri possunt. Difficile est rationem accurate describere sed brevi dici potest plurimas fistulas flexibles ab omnibus vaccis in unum locum lac conducere. Dum haec res geritur vaccae, si musica dulcis gramophone praebetur, magis contentae stant. Musicam classicam malunt, bodiernam spernunt. Quod ad nos pertinet, plus lactis bibamus, quod alimentum optimum nobis est. Ita non modo vaccae sed nos ipsi magis contenti erimus.

ANON.

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## ON TO RICHMOND

The forty-fifth annual meeting of the Classical Association of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South (and the first meeting of the incorporated association) will be held in Richmond, Virginia, on April 7, 8, 9, 1949, in the home territory of the president of the association, Professor A. Pelzer Wagener of William and Mary.

Convention headquarters will be in the John Marshall Hotel in Richmond, and visits are tentatively planned to the campus of the University of Richmond and to historic Williamsburg and Jamestown. It is also envisioned that meetings will be held on the campus of the College of William and Mary in Williamsburg.

Professor Pauline Turnbull of Westhampton College, University of Richmond, is acting as chairman of the committee on local arrangements.

While time and distance will present certain problems for western members of the association, it is hoped that the opportunity to meet in a section of the country where both educational and political history have been made will ensure a strong attendance.

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Showing how ancient moneymen could draw  
their inspiration from sources shared with  
the creators of great literature.



## The Aeneas Legend on Coins

Thomas S. Duncan

THE LEGEND OF AENEAS and his wanderings as told on coins, while not so complete as it is in literature, is in many ways as fascinating. It shows the variations here that it does in literature, and furnishes a commentary to the literary accounts. In the present treatment the Aeneas legend has been followed closely and as many coin types have been included as would seem in any way to refer to it. It may seem at times that the connection of a particular coin with the story is rather remote, but in the course of this work a fair amount of care has been taken not to force into it material that has no connection with it.

The coin best known with a representation of the Aeneas legend is that of Julius Caesar, bearing his name. It was struck soon after the battle of Pharsalus, where Caesar defeated Pompey on August 9, B.C. 48. On the obverse is the head of Venus; on the reverse is Aeneas I., holding in his r. hand the Palladium, and bearing on his l. shoulder his father Anchises who wears a long tunic and hood; on the r. is the inscription, CAESAR.<sup>1</sup> (Fig. 1).

An aureus of L. Livineius Regulus belonging to the year B.C. 39 also shows the legend.<sup>2</sup> On the obverse of the coin is the head of Octavius; on the reverse Aeneas is walking to r. carrying on his shoulders his father, who looks back. (Fig. 2).

A small coin of Augustus from Ilium gives the same legend.<sup>3</sup> On the obverse is the head

of Augustus, bare to r.; on the reverse, IAI, and Aeneas carrying his father and leading Ascanius. (Fig. 3).



FIG. 1

A famous sestertius of Caligula again shows the Aeneas motif. On this coin the reverse shows the emperor sacrificing before the temple of Divus Augustus. In the center of the pediment appears the goddess Pietas. The acroterion to the right is a group showing Aeneas with Anchises and Ascanius.<sup>4</sup> (Fig. 4).

On the sestertius of Galba the design appears in an interesting setting. On the reverse of the coin is shown Pietas standing, with right hand uplifted in the direction of a lighted altar, and with left hand holding over her breast a veil that is draped from her head. On the altar are fruits and grain. On the front of the altar sculptured in low relief is the design of Aeneas walking to the right carrying Anchises on his left

(A native of Scotland, Thomas Shearer Duncan received his secondary education in the province of Ontario, and graduated from the Honours Course in Classics at Queen's University in Kingston. He received his Ph.D. from Johns Hopkins University and is now Professor of Greek at Washington University.

shoulder and leading Ascanius. As to whether Anchises is carrying the Palladium, the state of the coin hardly permits a conjecture. (FIG. 5).<sup>5</sup>

Trajan restored the coin of Caesar in the usual form, adding only his inscription. (FIG. 6).

The coins of Apamea in Bithynia, from the time of Hadrian on, carried the design. The reverse of a coin of Hadrian has it with the inscription, COL. IULIAE. CO. APAM. D.D.<sup>6</sup> (FIG. 7).

Antoninus Pius struck a coin with the same motif. There, however, as on the small Augustus coin, Aeneas, instead of carrying the Palladium, is leading Ascanius with his right hand. Anchises holds on his lap the

Penates.<sup>7</sup> With Antoninus the motif is natural. In one respect he is a replica of Aeneas. Impressed by his attachment to his parents and by all his good qualities, the senate gave him the surname Pius.<sup>8</sup> Moreover, the coin type had become a popular one. Antoninus restored it, following the general tendency among the best emperors to restore types that had been popular in the Republic. (FIG. 1).

The variation of the legend as shown in the two types is interesting to note. On the coin of Caesar, the Regulus coin, and the restoration by Trajan, Ascanius does not appear, though he is on the small Augustus coin and that of Antoninus. On ancient Greek vase paintings there was the same variety of legend. On some Ascanius is not found. On a vase of Nicosthenes, Aeneas is shown carrying his father on his back.<sup>9</sup> Past the legs of Aeneas two smaller legs appear; perhaps Ascanius is meant to be included in the group. On the *Iliupersis Vase* the motif is different. Aeneas lifts his father by putting his right arm around his waist; both look back at Troy to see if they are pursued, and hurry forward; Ascanius walks beside them.<sup>10</sup> On another vase, which is in bad state of preservation, Aeneas leads by the hand someone in a garb that looks like a woman's.<sup>11</sup> Some claim, however, that the person being led is Anchises. The legend which makes Ascanius stay in Troy and continue the Trojan race is referred to in the Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite. There Aphrodite promises Anchises, "You shall have a dear son who shall reign among the Trojans, and children's children after him, springing up continually."<sup>12</sup> According to it, Ascanius remained in the Troad and became the progenitor of the Aineiades. Dionysius of Halicarnassus tells the story in detail.<sup>13</sup> The other legend, which makes him accompany his father, was told by Stesichorus, according to the *Tabula Iliaca*, and Stesichorus is probably the earliest authority for the story of Aeneas' flight into Italy.

The legend appears, slightly varied, on two large medallions of Antoninus Pius. The reverse of the first shows Aeneas and Ascanius disembarking from their ship on the shore of

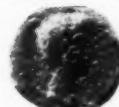
*Ed. Note: Even though they may have heard something of the way in which the Greeks manufactured myths and legends, most readers of the Aeneid are left with the feeling that Vergil presents an "official" version of the story of Aeneas made up, more or less, for the occasion. As in most of the great classical legends, however, although the main structure remains much the same, there are many variations in detail in the story of the wanderings of Aeneas as preserved in literature and on coins.*

In the article presented here, Professor Duncan combines the variations in the Aeneas legend with a detailed study of the Greek and Roman coins which used the legend for their subject matter. Our coin types today are seldom changed; the matters depicted in ancient coins, however, were rather more like those on our own postage stamps—we have frequent new issues referring to historical events, anniversaries, commemorations, and so forth. (Cf. Laura B. Voelkel, "Coin Types in Roman Politics," in CJ last April, 43. 401-405.)

Readers who are not expert in the specialized dialect of numismatics will readily infer that "obverse" means "heads," and "reverse," "tails." The transcriptions of Greek inscriptions from the coins described here, because of the limitations of our type fonts, are in some instances not exact representations of the original letter-forms.



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Latium, Aeneas leading Ascanius. In the front of the design is a sow, rising on her front feet as she suckles her brood in front of a grotto, beside which is a fig tree. In the distance are the walls and buildings of Lavinium. Anchises and the Palladium are not present. The medallion is in the Paris cabinet.<sup>14</sup> (FIG. 8).

On the reverse of the second coin is a sow to right with her brood. Underneath, in front, are the walls of Lavinium, flanked by two towers and with a large gate in the center. Above is shown Aeneas, carrying Anchises on his shoulders and walking towards a round temple to the left. On the right is a fig tree. The coin is in the Paris cabinet and in Venice, R.M.A.<sup>15</sup> (FIG. 9).

Two coins belonging to the years A.D. 117-192, from Hadrian to Commodus, have to do with the legend. The obverse of one has the bust of Athena, and the reverse the Aeneas legend; the obverse of the other has the representation of the wolf and twins, and the reverse Hector.<sup>16</sup> (FIG. 10 and FIG. 11).

The motif appears again on two coins not cited in the *British Museum Catalogue* or in Mionnet. The first is a coin of Crispina, wife of Commodus. On the obverse with the portrait is the inscription, ΚΡΙΣΣΙΠΙΝΑ ΑΤΓΟΤΣΤΑ; on the reverse is the representation of Aeneas carrying his father and leading Ascanius, with the inscription, ΔΑΡΔΑΝΙΩΝ.<sup>17</sup> (FIG. 12). The second is a coin of Scepsis in the Troad. On the obverse is the portrait of Julia Domna; on the reverse Aeneas carries his father and leads Ascanius. The inscription reads ΣΚΗΨΙΩΝ ΑΡ.<sup>18</sup> (FIG. 13).

A slight variation in the posture of the figures appears on a coin of Caracalla from Apamea in Bithynia. Aeneas is carrying Anchises on his left shoulder; and Anchises, as well as Aeneas, is looking back. Aeneas' cloak is flowing out behind his shoulders as if he were in rapid motion. Ascanius wears the Phrygian cap.<sup>19</sup> (FIG. 14).

Coins of Geta also give the myth. On the obverse of a coin of Dardanus is the portrait of Geta with the inscription; ΔΑΡΔΑΝΙΩΝ; on the reverse is the myth with the inscription ΔΑΡΔΑΝΙΩΝ.<sup>20</sup> Percy Gardner de-

scribes the figure carried by Aeneas as "the ancient simulacrum of a divinity seated on a throne."<sup>21</sup> Wroth, the editor of the volume of B.M.C. cited, thinks this unlikely, and points to other representations as proof. The fact that Anchises must carry a box on his knees makes him appear to be sitting on a throne. (FIG. 15). Another coin of Geta shows the legend.<sup>22</sup> Otrus in Phrygia furnishes an example. On it Aeneas wears a helmet with long plume and Anchises a Phrygian cap. (FIG. 16).

Again the legend appears on a coin of Julia Mamaea. On the obverse is the bust of Julia Mamaea, with the inscription, ΙΟΥΔΙΑ ΜΑΜΑΙΑ; on the reverse the myth and the inscription, ΔΑΡΔΑΝΙΩΝ.<sup>23</sup> (FIG. 17).

On a coin of the emperor Macrinus, belonging to Apamea, the figures are much the same as on the Caracalla coin except that on the former Aeneas is wearing the Phrygian Cap.<sup>24</sup> (FIG. 18). This coin is in the Vatican museum. That of Alexander Severus from the same place shows Aeneas bare-headed.<sup>25</sup> (FIG. 19). Trebonianus Gallus struck coins with the legend for Coela, Thracian Chersonnese,<sup>26</sup> and for Corinth.<sup>27</sup> Practically the same are the coins of Valerian,<sup>28</sup> (FIG. 20), and Gallienus.<sup>29</sup> (FIG. 21).

#### Judgment of Paris

THE DISCUSSION of the Aeneas legend might with propriety begin with the story of the Judgment of Paris. The myth is shown on a coin of Tarsus in the reign of Maximinus (A.D. 235-238), and on a coin of Scepsis belonging to the reign of Marcus Aurelius.<sup>30</sup> The reverse of the former shows Paris, wearing a Phrygian cap, seated l. on a rock, holding in his right hand an apple, in his left a crook. Before him stand Aphrodite, Hera, and Athena. Aphrodite is nude and faces front; Hera, behind her to left, is draped and veiled and seated on a stool. Behind her Athena, wearing a Corinthian helmet, rests her left hand on a spear and her right hand on a shield. (FIG. 22). On the second coin cited, Athena, Aphrodite, and Hera are assembled before Paris. The latter is reclining on a rock to the right; a tree rises at the foot of the rock. Between him and the goddesses, Eros



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springs forward holding an apple in his hand. Paris from his position on the rock turns his head towards them. (FIG. 23).

### *Wolf and Twins*

COINS WITH THE representation of the she-wolf and twins were struck in all periods of Rome's history, for, in spite of the great divergence in the accounts of the descent of the twins from Aeneas, the legend was at all times popular.<sup>31</sup> They appear among the earliest Roman coins, in the Romano-Campanian series in bronze and silver, B.C. 342-317 according to the earlier dating. A sextans of this period shows on the obverse the she-wolf and twins, on the reverse a crow (eagle?) with a flower in its bill; a didrachma has on the obverse the head of Hercules, on the reverse the she-wolf and twins.<sup>32</sup>

The coin of Sex. Pompeius Fostlus, B.C. 150-125, is well known.<sup>33</sup> The moneyer chose the type probably because of the likeness of his name to that of the shepherd Faustulus who found the twins, Romulus and Remus. On the obverse of the coin is the head of Roma; behind, a *capis*, the jug which the shepherd carried with him. On the reverse, the she-wolf with the twins; the fig tree with birds in the branches; behind the wolf, the shepherd Faustulus. (FIG. 24).

An anonymous denarius assigned by Babellon to B.C. 104, and by Gruber to B.C. 92, shows on the obverse the head of the goddess Roma, helmeted, and the inscription ROMA, on the reverse Roma seated on shields, at her feet the wolf and twins. (FIG. 25).

The type appears on the coins of many of the emperors, especially on the coins of those who, for one reason or another, emphasize their interest in Republican institutions. With Vespasian the type is natural.<sup>34</sup> As the second founder of the Empire, conscious that his claim to it rested upon the usurpation of power, he strengthened his position as much as he could by stressing his regard for Rome's past history. His coming to power was the promise of a rebirth of Rome. An aureus of Titus shows on the reverse the same type as the anonymous denarius noted above, but with *cos vi* in the exergue.<sup>35</sup> On the anonym-

ous small bronzes, quadrantes or tesserae, with s.c. on reverse, struck, apparently sometime in the period from Domitian to Antoninus Pius, it appears.<sup>36</sup> Trajan restores the same anonymous denarius as Titus (the denarius put by Babellon about B.C. 104 and by Mattingly and Sydenham about B.C. 123).<sup>37</sup> Trajan's coin differs from the original, however, in that the latter has two birds in the field, Trajan's restoration has two prows. With Hadrian "the type is probably meant to refer to the temple which he had set out to build to Roma and Venus."<sup>38</sup> In harmony with the quality of *pietas* noted above in Antoninus Pius his coins give the motif. With him this type, like the Aeneas and Anchises, the Mars and Rhea Silvia, looked forward to the ninth centenary of Rome, A.D. 148. With Marcus Aurelius the type too was natural as he traced his ancestry back to Numa.

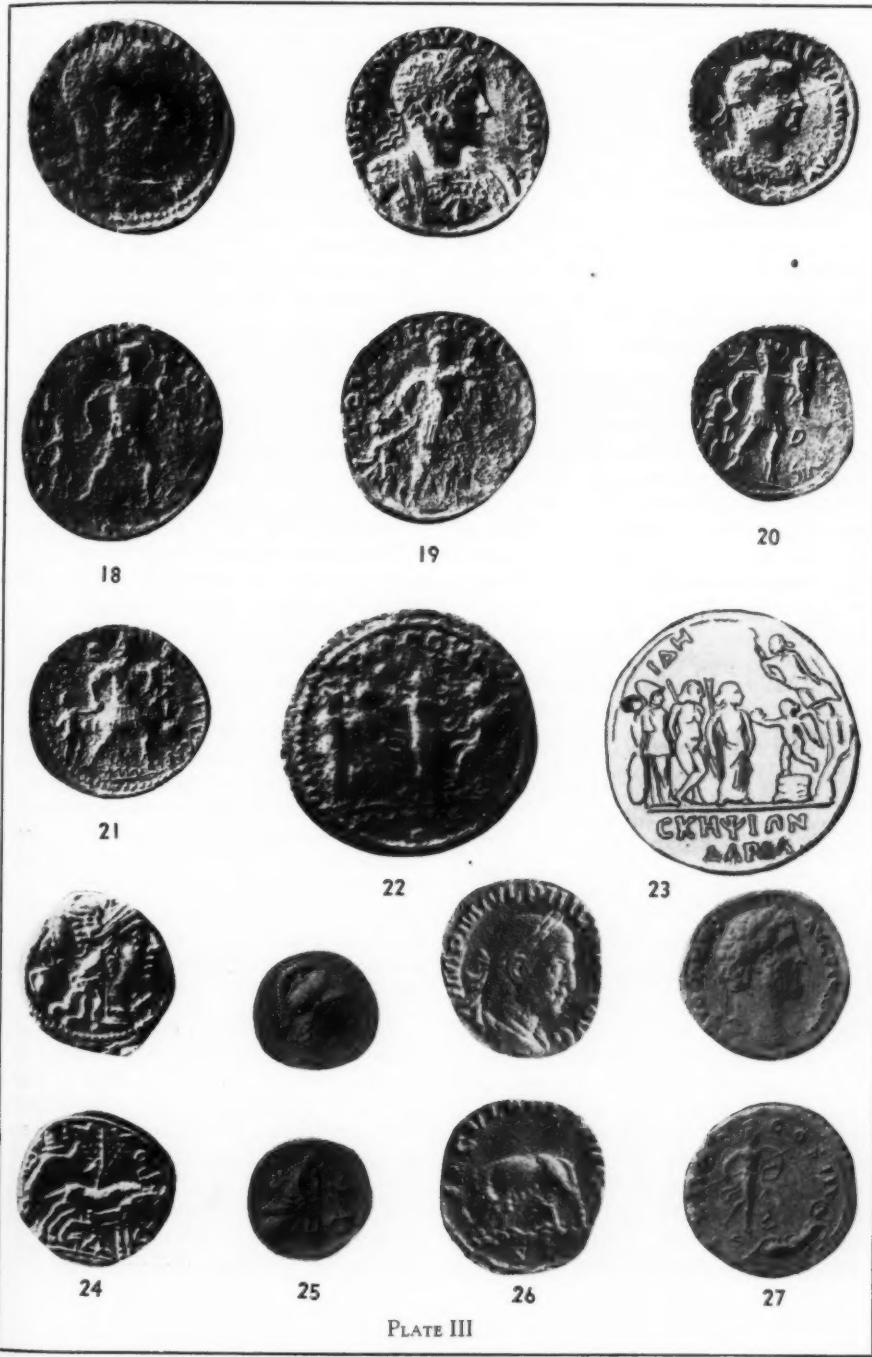
In A.D. 248 Philippus Senior with his son prepared to celebrate the *ludi saeculares* in honor of the one thousandth anniversary of Rome. To make his celebration one upon a great scale of magnificence he used in the circus great numbers of wild animals which Gordianus Pius had collected for his triumph over Persia. One of his coins, with the inscription *SACULARES AUGG*, shows the she-wolf and twins, in commemoration of the great event. (FIG. 26). Gallienus used the type.<sup>39</sup> It recurs also in a late denarius or tessera of Constantine and his sons.

### *Mars and Rhea*

AN AUREUS of Antoninus Pius shows Mars appearing to Rhea Silvia who is lying asleep.<sup>40</sup> (FIG. 27). The coin recalls the promise of Jupiter to his daughter:

Hic iam ter centum totos regnabitur annos  
Gente sub Hectorea, donec regina sacerdos  
Marte gravis geminam partu dabit Ilia prolem.  
Inde lupae fulvo nutricis tegmine laetus  
Romulus excipiet gentem.<sup>41</sup>

According to a tradition given by Plutarch, the Vestal Aemilia is to be identified with Rhea Silvia, and hence was the mother of Romulus and Remus. She is taken as the



founder of the Aemilia gens. A coin struck by the moneyer M. Aemilius Lepidus in B.C. 64 makes reference to the tradition. On the obverse is the head of Aemilia veiled and laureate. On the reverse is a side view of the Basilica Aemilia with circular shields attached to the columns. The coin is common and in most collections.<sup>42</sup> (FIG. 28).

The Vestal appears again on a coin of L. Livineius Regulus, B.C. 39. The reverse shows the virgin, Aemilia, veiled and draped standing left, holding a simpulum in the right hand and a sceptre in the left. The coin is in the British Museum collection.<sup>43</sup>

### Sow and Brood

ANOTHER FEATURE of the legend, the prophecy of Helenus to Aeneas concerning the place where his new city was to be built, indicated by the finding of a sow and her young, is alluded to on the coins of some of the Emperors. The passage in the *Aeneid* that records the prophecy is well known:

Cum tibi sollicito secreti ad fluminis undam  
Litoreis ingens inventa sub ilicibus sus  
Triginta capitum fetus enixa iacebit,  
Alba solo recubans, albi circum ubera nati,  
Is locus urbis erit, requies ea certa laborum.<sup>44</sup>

Vespasian and Titus have coins showing the legend.<sup>45</sup> With Antoninus Pius again the type was struck with the nine hundredth anniversary of Rome in mind.<sup>46</sup> (FIG. 29). Exact correspondence between the coin and the prophecy is, of course, not to be found, and on the coins the number of piglets varies.

### The Firebrand

THE STORY represented on the coin of L. Papius Celsus is told by Dionysius.<sup>47</sup> When Aeneas and his men were building the city of Lavinium (Lanuvium?), they beheld a strange portent. At some distance they saw a she-wolf carrying in her mouth firebrands out of a burning wood. An eagle stood by fanning the fire as the brands were brought. A fox attempted to put out the fire by dipping his tail into a stream, thus carrying water and sprinkling it on the fire. The coin is described thus: on the obverse is the head of the youth-

ful god Triumpus; on the reverse a she-wolf bearing in her mouth a brand which she is to put on a brazier; an eagle fans the flames.<sup>48</sup> (FIG. 30).

### Dido and Carthage

THE LEGEND of Aeneas' wanderings recounted in the *Aeneid* tells of the hero stopping on his way at the court of Dido of Carthage. Her city is in the process of building. The reverse of a coin of Elagabalus, belonging to the city of Tyre, shows Dido building Carthage. She stands to front looking left, holding in her right hand a rule, in her left hand a sceptre, before the arched gate of a city. Above the gate is a mason at work on one of the towers; below, a man to the right, digging with a pick. In the field is a murex.<sup>49</sup> (FIG. 31).

### Aeneas' Wanderings

THE LEGENDS of Aeneas' wanderings on his way to Italy are given by Dionysius.<sup>50</sup> According to him, some ancient authorities conduct Aeneas to Thrace and have him die there, chief of these authorities being Cephalon of Gergithios, and Hegesippus who wrote about Pallene. Others bring him from Thrace to Arcadia and have him found cities at Orchomenos, at Nesos, and at Capya. To Ariaithos and to others is attributed this account: they represent Aeneas as dying in Arcadia after he had founded the cities. Others again take him to Italy, the elegiac poet Agathyllos giving the story thus:

He came to Arcadia and left at Nesos two daughters, Kodone and Anthemone; but he hurried on to the land of Hesperia and there begat a son, Romulus.

When Aeneas realized that Ilion was destined to fall and that there was no hope for himself, with his allies of the cities of Dardanos and Ophrynius he fled to the stronghold of Pergamon, the citadel where the sacred objects of religion, their wealth and the best soldiery were kept.<sup>51</sup> There they were able to help in the rescue of those who had to leave the captured city, and, since it appeared that ultimately Pergamon must fall,

they had time to devise means of escape in security. Accordingly they withdrew to Mt. Ida in orderly manner, a gigantic host including all except, on the one hand, those who had already prepared a fleet and sailed with Elymos and Aigestos, and, on the other, the people of Ophrynius and other Trojan cities who asserted independence and refused to continue the alliance. For some time they remained in the neighboring territory in the hope of returning to the city after the Greeks had left, but, finding that the Achaeans were altogether victorious, made a treaty with them for the privilege of withdrawing unharmed from the conquered territory. Aeneas then gathered his family together, built a fleet and set sail.

Legends differ concerning the members of his household whom Aeneas took with him. In the account of Dionysius, he decides to leave Ascanius near the Troy country to maintain the alliance that had been formed in Phrygia, and ultimately to return to Troy. If all the legends are to be given credence, he must have had many female members of his household to take along. Robert, in discussing this phase of the Aeneas story, wrote to Friedländer, "You see, if we still lived in the happy day of the *contaminatio* of myths, the inference would be easy to draw that Aeneas set out from Ilion with not only one daughter, but with a whole bevy of them not provided for, and that all of these in the long course of his wanderings he saw happily settled."<sup>52</sup> According to Pausanias, when he landed in the gulf of Boiai in Laconia he had with him a daughter Erias.<sup>53</sup> A fragment of Ennius tells that Aeneas had come to Latium with a daughter given him by Eurydica, the name by which he calls Aeneas' wife, instead of Creusa.<sup>54</sup> Agathocles, historian of Cyzicus, gives the story that Aeneas with his granddaughter Rhoma, the daughter of Ascanius, came to Rome, and after her the city was later named.<sup>55</sup> As indicated above, there were two Arcadian legends about him. One of these was that he remained in Arcadia till he died, settling there his two daughters, Kodone and Anthemone; the other, that he went to Italy and there begot a son Romulus. The account

of Dionysius takes note of most of the legends that centered around his name in Greece.

Following the compact made with the Achaeans, Aeneas set forth on his journey to found a new home. A record of his first stop is left in the name of the city Aineia said to have been founded by him.

Of the location of the city many theories are extant. Herodotus, who does not mention the myth in passing, puts it in the territory of Krousis, which belonged to the Mygdonians, a Paeonian people, and got its name from Krousios, son of Mygdon.<sup>56</sup> From two literary sources, however, comes the legend of its founding by Aeneas, from Stephanus of Byzantium, who quotes Theon (*In Lycophr.*), and Scylax, the historian. The latter, though he says Aineia is a Hellenic colony, also records a local legend that made it a Trojan colony, the first founded by Aeneas on his journey to Italy. The place had been of some importance. In the early part of the fifth century it had paid to Athens a tribute of three talents, a sum that was reduced to 1000 drachmae in B.C. 425.<sup>57</sup> In the time of Cassander it was only a fortified town whose inhabitants along with those of other small towns were transported to Thessalonica to augment its population.<sup>58</sup> Livy puts the town fifteen miles from Thessalonica in the direction of Pydna, and says that it lies in a fertile region.<sup>59</sup>

The most recent discussion of the city Aineia and its coinage is to be found in an article by the great numismatist of Athens, J. N. Svoronos, "L'Hellénisme primitif de la Macédoine, prouvé par la Numismatique."<sup>60</sup> A few of his conclusions must be given here.

It has been seen that in Laconia and Arcadia, Aeneas left daughters who married local heroes, and whose names are preserved in places founded by Aeneas. In Aineia also there seem to have been two legends. According to one Aeneas died there; according to the other, he went on to Italy, leaving behind members of his family who were unable or unwilling to go with him.<sup>61</sup> The daughter Anthemone who is associated elsewhere with the Arcadian legend is no doubt the eponymous heroine of the city of Anthe-

mous, just as her mother, Kreousa, is of all the territory of Krousis.<sup>62</sup> The account of Dionysius, furthermore, would seem to indicate that, in stopping in that territory, Aeneas was only going to those who had been Priam's most faithful allies, and that the land was given to Aeneas in token of their friendship.<sup>63</sup> This territory, exposed as it was to the attacks of neighbors, the kings of Macedonia offered in turn to Peisistratus, Hippias, and the Olynthians to secure their help and alliance.

Svoronos points out that the legend of the Trojan founding of Ainea can hardly be true. Two bits of contradictory evidence are available. Herodotus tells that two Paeonian chiefs, in order to appeal to the Great King of Persia, claimed that they were colonists of the Teucrians from Troy; Strabo, on the other hand, asserts that some maintain the Paenians are Phrygians, others that they are indigenous.<sup>64</sup> The myth was created, perhaps, to explain the names. Those who occupied this country, to judge from the symbol on the coins—a star—did not come from the East but from the West of the country conquered by the Macedonians. The ancient type of the cow feeding her calf on the coins of Anthemous shows that the people who occupied Krousis must be, if not the same, at least a branch of the Bottiaeans of Chalcidice who used this as a characteristic type, and who came from the West. In the second place, other versions of the wanderings of Aeneas have come down. These make him come from the West to the East. According to them, Aeneas was taken as prisoner by Neoptolemus to Molossia in Epirus.<sup>65</sup> From this place he came to Almopia, the territory from which the Bottiaeans came, and thence to Raikelos, the name of which he changed to Ainea.<sup>66</sup> From there he crossed over to Italy. The Almopes, one of the smallest and poorest tribes of shepherds of Paeonian Macedonia, were, according to Thucydides (2, 99) driven East some time after the Bottiaeans, their neighbors. It is not known where they came to settle, but it is natural to suppose they must have taken refuge in Chalcidice near their ancient neighbors, the Bottiaeans, in

Anthemusia of the hospitable Mygdonians. The legend of Aeneas' leaving the country of Neoptolemus and coming East to found Raikelos lends some confirmation to the supposition. Another fact lends support, that Peisistratus, in B.C. 553, after being expelled from Athens the second time, founded a city at Raikelos, a place situated on the Thermaic gulf, receiving it from the inhabitants, as Hippias later did Anthemous. There must have been an older Mygdonian city the name of which began with EN, and this in time gave rise to the local legend about Aeneas.

#### Coins of Ainea

1. *Obv.* ΑΙΝΕΑΣ high up to right. Aeneas is shown fleeing with his wife Creusa, his father Anchises, and his daughter Anthemone. His aged father is on his shoulders. His wife clad in a long chiton, wearing earrings, walks in front with a young girl on her shoulder. She turns and looks toward Aeneas. Symbol to l. a star.

Rev. incuse square. (Fig. 32).

The coin is in the Berlin Museum. It is shown in the following: *Zeitschr. f. Num.* vii, 221 (article by Friedländer); *Babelon, Traité*, no. 1557, pl. XLIX, 15; Svoronos, *loc. cit.* pl. III, 27.

This coin, the date of which is given B.C. 550, was first published by von Sallet in the *Monatsbericht der Berliner Akademie*, 1878. In that publication it was contended that Creusa has on her shoulder the young Ascanius. In the following year Robert pointed out that details of dress indicate that the child is a girl and not a boy. He further ventured to suggest, in support of his opinion, that the child sat on the mother's shoulder with the fear of a maiden and not the courage of a boy.<sup>67</sup> His argument did not convince Friedländer who, on the evidence of hair dress, pronounced in favor of the boy.<sup>68</sup> The strange thing is that the break in the coin makes it almost impossible to decide the one way or the other about head dress; hence it affords great possibilities for argument. However, the finding of a better specimen, now in Paris, vindicated Robert.

2. The Paris specimen is of the same type. It is without the Paeonian symbol, the star. In the field is a ram's head to r. Jameson, *Catalogue*, Paris, no. 932; pl. xlvi.

Cp. Svoronos, *loc. cit.* pl. III, 29.

3. *Obv.* Bearded and helmeted head of Aeneas to r. The hair falls in long ringlets. On the neck is a line of globules. (Fig. 33). London and Berlin.

Cp. Bab. no. 1557, pl. xlix, 16; Svoronos loc. cit. pl. iii, 28; also pl. iii, 3 and 4.

4. *Obv.* Helmeted head of Aeneas or Ascanius, to l., beardless. Hair is short.

*Rev.* ΑΙΝΕΑΣ in a square around a plinth.

Hirsch, *Cat.*, (Geneva), xiii, 813.

Cp. Svoronos, loc. cit. pl. iii, 30, 31, 32.

5. *Obv.* Head of Athene helmeted to r. Helmet adorned with crown of olive.

*Rev.* Bull standing r., turning head. Base of one line. Exergue ΑΙΝΕΑΣ, all in incuse square.

Hirsch, xxxiii, 612; pl. xiv.

Cp. Svoronos, loc. cit. pl. iii, 33.

6. *Obv.* Draped bust of Creusa or Anthemone to l. Stephane confines the hair. Eye is in front view. Creusa wears earrings.

*Rev.* Ram's head left in incuse square. (FIG. 34). London.

Cp. Bab. no. 1277, pl. xxxix, 24.

7. Same head to left. Same reverse. University of Glasgow, *Hunterian Collection* (MacDonald, II, p. 137; pl. xxxviii, 9).

Cp. Bab. no. 1278, pl. xxxix, 25.

These coins (6 and 7) have regularly been assigned to Crannon in Cephallenia.<sup>69</sup> The representation on the obverse has been taken to be that of Procris, wife of Cephalus, accidentally slain by him when mistaken for a boar in the woods. But Svoronos says that such a type is never found in Cephallenia. He cites in proof Paul Lambros' collection of coins of the Ionian islands in the Athens Museum. The symbol of the ram's head may be only a general reference to the fertility of the territory.

8. *Obv.* Cow standing to l., turning her head and feeding her calf. Above, EN.

*Rev.* Incuse square divided into four. (FIG. 35). Berlin, Paris, Athens, London.

Cp. Svoronos, loc. cit., pl. xviii, 21, 22, 23, 24.

The explanation of the coins of this type lies perhaps in the legend that on the spot where Aeneas was to found his city a cow which had come with him from Mt. Ida lowed. Aphrodite had counselled that this event be accepted as an omen to be followed.<sup>70</sup>

Besides these coins grouped by Svoronos two others are mentioned. Imhoof-Blumer describes them as follows:

1. *Obv.* Youthful head of Ascanius to r. with Phrygian cap.

*Rev.* ΑΙΝΕΑΤ—ΩΝ Bull butting to r.<sup>71</sup> London, B.M.C. F. 42, 5.

2. *Obv.* Same head to l.

*Rev.* Same legend. Bull standing to l. Imhoof-Blumer Collection. Berlin Cabinet.

From Thrace Aeneas, according to legend continued his journey, stopping at various places, building temples and instituting religious rites. First he called at Delos. Of his stay there no coins give a record. In Cythera he built a temple to Aphrodite. Of the founding of the cities, in Laconia, Aphrodisias and Eitis, named from his mother and daughter, Dionysius takes no notice. From there Aeneas goes on to Arcadia and renews his friendship with the Arcadians, and then pushes on to Zacynthos.<sup>72</sup> At Zacynthos his stay is somewhat protracted, since Zacynthos, the founder of the state on the island, was uncle to Aeneas. There, being detained by storm somewhat longer than he had intended to stay, he built an altar to Aphrodite and instituted a sacrifice as well as races in her honor. The race was to end at a temple, and was called the race of Aphrodite and Aeneas. Further cult statues (*έσθα*) of both were set up. From there he crossed over to Leucas and built on the island between the canal and the city the temple of Aphrodite Aineias.

The coins that recall the visit of Aeneas to Leucas are of peculiar interest. The description given here comes from Imhoof-Blumer.<sup>73</sup>

1. *Obv.* Female deity in double chiton, to r., standing on a base. In left hand she holds an aplustre and beside her to the left stands a doe facing r. The whole is enclosed in a wreath of laurel.

*Rev.* Ship's prow to r. with acrostolium called *χυτίσκες*, ship's eye and covered deck. The beak is without ornament of animal's head. Above the deck ΑΡ ΛΕΤΚΑΔΙΩΝ. In field to r. ΔΛΙΤΛΟΣ (FIG. 36). Paris; Mionnet, II, 82, 30.

Cp. Imhoof-Blumer, pl. I, 13.

2. *Obv.* Goddess in double chiton to r. standing on a base, holding in her right hand the aplustre. Over her head a crescent; near her standing to r. a doe. Behind her a sceptre on the top of which sits a dove to r. All in a laurel wreath.

*Rev.* Ship's prow to r. with acrostolium bent in. A lion's head on the *προεμβόλιον*. Above ΛΕΤΚΑΔΙΩΝ ΛΥΣΙΜΑΧΟΣ and a woman's head r. Under the beak ΑΚ (FIG. 37). Vienna, Mionnet, Suppl. III, 463, 65.

Cp. Imhoof-Blumer, pl. I, 14.

The type of the obverse is a standing statue on a drum-like base. Ernst Curtius

recognized it as the statue of Aphrodite Aineias, a goddess of the sea and sailing, honored by the Amphictyonic leagues.<sup>74</sup> He recalls the statement of Dionysius concerning the location of the temple at the northern entrance of the canal between Leucas and the mainland. The most common representation of the goddess is that with all the attributes, crescent, aplustre, owl, doe, and sceptre with dove. On one specimen appears an eagle sitting on a thunderbolt. The coins belong to the time of the Acarnanian league.

From Leucas Aeneas goes on his way, landing at Aktion and coming to the city of Ambracia. His next halt is at Buthrotion and then at Dodona. From there he passes over to Iapygia and later to Sicily, landing in the neighborhood of Drepana. Here he meets the followers of Elymos and Aigestos who had sailed from Troy before him and who had by reason of good fortune and favorable weather reached Sicily quickly. Aigestos had been received with hospitality because of his kinship with the Sicanians. There are two versions of the story of that kinship. During his stay here Aeneas founds the two cities Elyma and Aigesta-Segesta.

Servius says that the nymph Aigesta-Segesta came from Troy and, marrying the river god Crimisos, became the mother of Aigestos (in the *Aeneid*, *Acestes*).<sup>75</sup> Dionysius gives a different version of the story.<sup>76</sup> Elymos and Aigestos settled near the river Crimisos in the territory of the Sicanians. Aeneas, by virtue of his kinship with Aigestos, received a piece of land on his arrival. The story of his kinship is as follows: a Trojan noble, kinsman of Laomedon, had a quarrel with the king. Laomedon seized him and put him to death with all the males of his house, but for shame refused to put to death the women of the family. Fearing that from one of these might be born a man to avenge his kin, Laomedon gave over all the women to be taken out of the country. With those who carried them away went a young lad. He fell in love with the beautiful maid Aigesta, and reaching Sicily wedded her. The son born of the union was Aigestos. When Priam came to rule over Troy, the youth effected his re-

turn there and joined in the war against the Greeks.

At Elyma and Segesta, Aeneas left monuments recording his stay. In the former place, according to Dionysius, he built a splendid altar of Aphrodite Aineias, on the top of Elymos. The coin of C. Considius Nonianus (B.C. 62) may have reference to the cult established there. It is described as follows: on the obverse is the bust of Venus Erycina to r.; on the reverse, a temple on the summit of a mountain surrounded by a rampart; inscription ERUC.<sup>77</sup> (Fig. 38). The worship of Venus Erycina was introduced into Rome from Eryx at the beginning of the Second Punic War. In B.C. 181 a temple was built to her outside the Porta Collatina. The temple was said to have been built by Eryx, a son of Aphrodite and King Butes. On the other hand, Pausanias, in telling the story of the founding of Psophis in Arcadia, links Eryx in Sicily with Psophis.<sup>78</sup> Psophis was the daughter of Eryx in Sicily. Zacinthos also is called Psophis because its founder Zacinthos came from Psophis. But Zacinthos, uncle to Aeneas, was the son of Dardanos and Bateia, in whose name may be a kinship with Butes.

Segesta is mentioned first in history about B.C. 580 in connection with her quarrels with Selinus about boundaries.<sup>79</sup> Strabo mentions a port that belonged to it.<sup>80</sup> Hill puts the coins of Segesta illustrated here at B.C. 480. On them the river god takes the form of a dog rather than the more usual form of a bull. The description:

1. *Obv.* Head of Segesta to r.; hair done up in a sphendone.

*Rev.* ΣΕΓΕΣΤ in retrograde; dog to r., head lowered; in background three stalks of wheat with ears.<sup>81</sup> (Fig. 39). Paris, Cabinet des Médailles de la Bibliothèque Nationale.

2. *Obv.* Head of Segesta.

*Rev.* Young hunter standing to r. naked, with hunting boots; one foot on a stone, holding a javelin, his chlamys hung over his arm; at his feet two dogs; in front a boundary herm.<sup>82</sup> (Fig. 40). This coin belongs to B.C. 416 or 415, the time of another dispute between Selinus and Segesta over boundaries. The river god has become a beautiful youth.

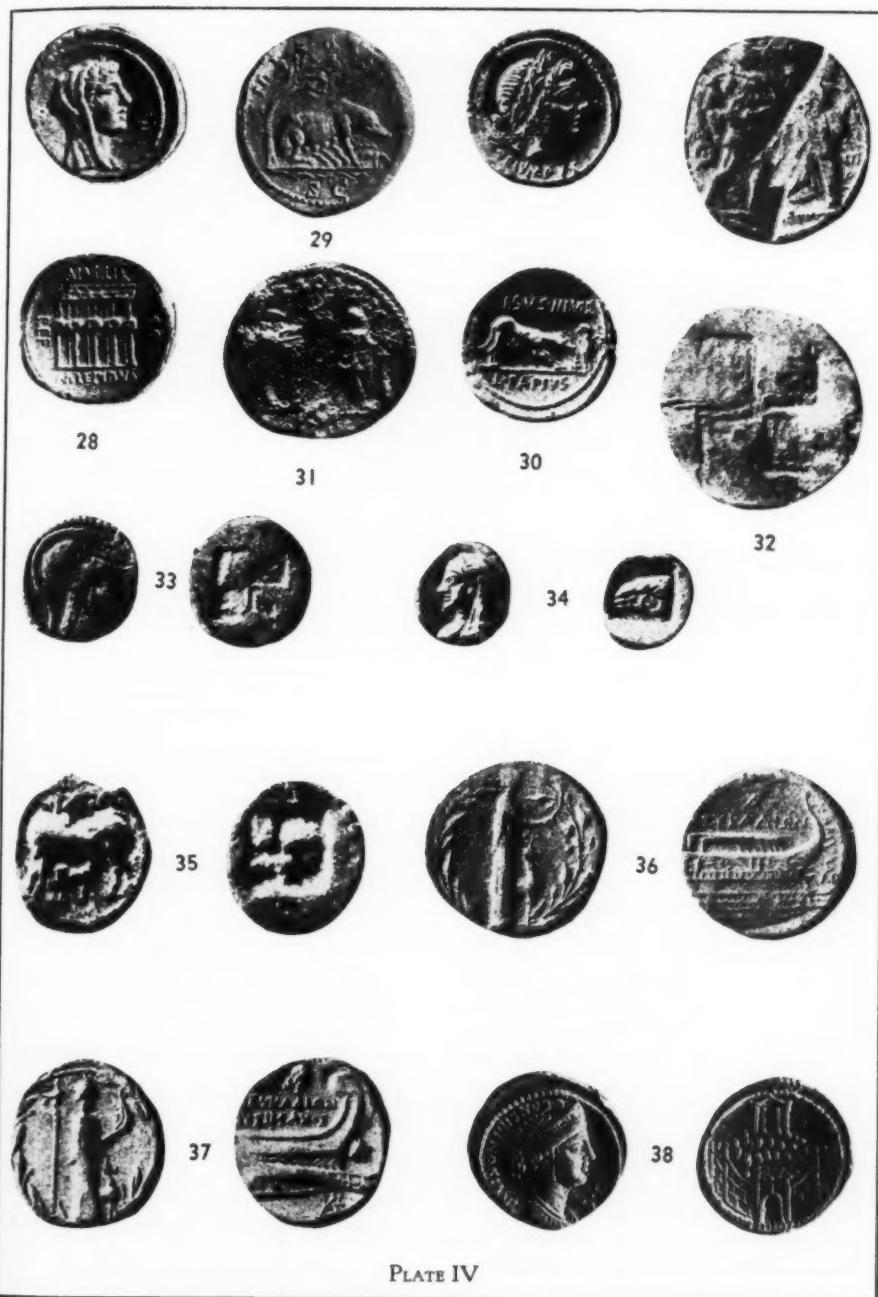


PLATE IV



PLATE V

After B.C. 146 Segesta makes free use of the design of Aeneas carrying his father Anchises, especially on bronze coins. One coin shows Aeneas holding in his right hand a sword and carrying Anchises on his left shoulder. Ascanius is not present. On the reverse of a bronze coin of Augustus, Aeneas is represented advancing, holding the Palladium in his right hand, and supporting Anchises on his left arm. Above Aeneas' head is a crescent, and behind him an eagle.<sup>33</sup>

Leaving Sicily, Aeneas lands in Italy. The story of his settling in Italy has been told so far as it appears on the coins. Several families notably the Julii, claimed to be descended from Aeneas. A coin of Sex. Julius, moneyer about 94 B.C., shows on the reverse Venus genetrix in a chariot being crowned by Cupid.<sup>34</sup> (Fig. 41). The Cloulii took their name from Cloulius, a companion of Aeneas.<sup>35</sup>

From the brief treatment of the subject here it will be clearly seen how the story of Aeneas' wanderings impressed itself on the traditions of many places that lie along the fabled route. A study of the contribution made by the records on coins clearly demonstrates the value of the use of ancient coins in the study of myth and history.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> B.M.C. II, 469; pl. cx, 20.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. I, 179; pl. LVII, 9.

<sup>3</sup> B.M.C. Troas, etc., p. 60; pl. XII, 5 (ed. Wroth).

<sup>4</sup> Cohen, *Monn. Rom. Caligula*, 9; Mattingly & Sydenham, *Roman Imperial Coinage*, I, p. 117; pl. viii, 116.

<sup>5</sup> *Zeitschr. f. Num.* XII, 1932, 60 f., an article on "Poietas" by Josef Liegle. The coin is in the Pellerin collection in the National Cabinet in Paris, and a plaster cast in the Berlin Museum. Cf. B.M.C., *Imperial Coins* I, 358 and n. and page ccxvi.

<sup>6</sup> *Recueil des Monnaies grecques d'Asie Mineure*, Wadd. Bab. Rein. I<sup>2</sup>, 1908, p. 253; pl. xxviii, 14.

<sup>7</sup> *Cp. Aen. 2. 721:*

Haec fatus latos humeros subjectaque colla  
veste super fulvique insternor pelle leonis  
succedo oneri; dextra se parvus Iulus  
implicuit sequiturque patrem non passibus aequis;  
pone subit coniunx.

<sup>8</sup> Cohen, *Monnaies*, II, 269.

<sup>9</sup> J. C. Hoppin, *Handbook of Greek Blackfigured Vases*, p. 251.

<sup>10</sup> Furtwangler u. Reichold, *Griech. Vasenmalerei*, Text I, 186; pl. 34.

<sup>11</sup> Furtwangler u. Reichold, op. cit. Text II, p. 286; pl. 114.

<sup>12</sup> *Hymn to Aphrodite*, 196-197.

<sup>13</sup> *Ant.* I, 47.

<sup>14</sup> Gnechi, *Med. Rom.* II, I, no. 99; pl. LV, 9; Coh. 171.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, II, I, no. 115; pl. LV, 8; Coh. 1183.

<sup>16</sup> B.M.C. Troas, etc., p. 60; pl. XII, 5 (ed. Wroth).

<sup>17</sup> Hamburger Catalogue, Oct. 1925, no. 1162.

<sup>18</sup> Bernhart, *Antike Münzbilder*, 216. The coin is in the Berlin Museum.

<sup>19</sup> Recueil des Monnaies grecque d'Asie Mineure, Wadd. Bab. Rein. 1<sup>2</sup>, p. 258; pl. XXXIX, 16.

<sup>20</sup> B.M.C. Troas, p. 51; pl. x, 2.

<sup>21</sup> Types of Greek Coins, p. 79; pl. xi, 6, and Num. Chron., 1886, p. 256; pl. xi, 6.

<sup>22</sup> B.M.C. Phrygia, p. 345; pl. xi, 7.

<sup>23</sup> B.M.C. Troas, p. 87; pl. XVI, 4.

<sup>24</sup> Recueil etc., 1<sup>2</sup>, 1908, p. 259; pl. XI, 4; Coh. 171.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., p. 260; pl. XI, 6; Coh. 634.

<sup>26</sup> Coh. 147; Mionnet, *Suppl.* II, 531; no. 51. The coin is in the Paris cabinet.

<sup>27</sup> Mionnet, *Suppl.* IV, 99, no. 669.

<sup>28</sup> Recueil etc., 1<sup>2</sup>, 1908, p. 262; pl. XI, 17.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., pl. XI, 23.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. p. 20 and figs. 23 and 24.

<sup>31</sup> See Dion. Hal. Ant. 66 ff., and Livy 1, 3.

<sup>32</sup> Babelon, I, 20, 20; I, 13, 8.

<sup>33</sup> B.M.C. I, 131; pl. XXVI, 6.

<sup>34</sup> B.M.C. II, p. 187; pl. XXXIV, 5.

<sup>35</sup> Cp. B.M.C. II, p. 40; pl. VI, 18.

<sup>36</sup> Mattingly & Sydenham, *Roman Imperial Coinage*, II, p. 217.

<sup>37</sup> Cp. Babelon, I, p. 72, no. 176 and Matt. & Syd. II, 306. Cp. B.M.C. (Republican Coins) II, 284, note 1.

<sup>38</sup> Matt. & Syd. op. cit., p. 324.

<sup>39</sup> Matt. & Syd. v, pp. 93, 161, 186, 190 and Coh. 46, 47, 48, 472, 473, 474. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

<sup>40</sup> Matt. & Syd. III, p. 37; pl. I, 17. Santa Maria Sale, Nov. 1920, lot 681. 40me. The coin is very rare.

<sup>41</sup> Verg. Aen. I, 272.

<sup>42</sup> B.M.C. I, 450; pl. XLVI, II.

<sup>43</sup> B.M.C. I, 580; pl. LVII, II.

<sup>44</sup> Verg. Aen. 3, 389. Cp. Aen. 8, 83.

<sup>45</sup> Matt. & Syd. II, pp. 7, 27, 30, 39. Cp. Coh. Vespasian 210, 213, 214, Titus, 104.

<sup>46</sup> Matt. & Syd. III, pp. 111, 119, 120, 124; pl. VI, 119.

<sup>47</sup> Ant. I, 59.

<sup>48</sup> B.M.C. I, 519; pl. I, 22.

<sup>49</sup> B.M.C. Phoenicia, p. 277; pl. XXXIII, 6.

<sup>50</sup> Ant. I, 47-54.

<sup>51</sup> Dion. Hal. Ant. I, 46; the account rests on the authority of Hellanikos of Lesbos.

<sup>52</sup> Arch. Zeit. 1879, p. 23 f.

<sup>53</sup> III, 22, 8; cp. VIII, 12, 8.

<sup>54</sup> Annales I (Fr. xxiv, Vahl.); cp. Cic. De divin. I, 20, 40.

<sup>55</sup> F. H. G. IV, p. 200—Festus p. 269 M.: Aeneam Italian petivisse portantem suam secum neptem, Ascani filiam, nomine Rhomam.

<sup>56</sup> Hdt. 7, 123.

<sup>57</sup> Macan, *Herodotus* Vol. I, pt. I, p. 157; cp. Baehr, Herodotus 7, 123 n.

<sup>58</sup> Strabo 330, fr. 21, 24.

<sup>59</sup> Liv. 44, 10: cp. 45, 30.

<sup>60</sup> Journal Intern. d'Arch. Num. 1918-19, pp. 142-152. The article gives a description of the coins of Ainea.

<sup>61</sup> Dion. Hal. Ant. I, 49.

<sup>62</sup> Κριούσα = Κριούσις = Κρεῖσις = Κρουσίς; vid. Pape, Sub. Voc.

<sup>63</sup> Dion. Hal. Ant. I, 47 and 49; Hom. Il. 2, 848; 21, 210.

<sup>64</sup> Hdt. 5, 13; Strabo 331, 38.

<sup>65</sup> Dictys Cret. 6, 7; Hom. Od. 4, 9; Euripides, Tro. 1125; Paus. I, 11, 1; Verg. Aen. 5, 333; Pind. Nem. 4, 82; 7, 57; Strabo 4, 326.

<sup>66</sup> Lycoph. Alex. 1236 ff.; cp. Tzetz. Schol. to Lyco-phon, 1232, 1236.

<sup>67</sup> Arch. Zeit. 1879, p. 23.

<sup>68</sup> Zeitschr. f. Num. VII, 221.

<sup>69</sup> Gardner, B.M.C. Peloponnesus, p. 78, 13; pl. XVI, 14; Bab. no. 1277, p. XXXIX, 24.

<sup>70</sup> Conon, *Narrat.* 46.

<sup>71</sup> Mon. Ant. pp. 62, 63. Cp. Friedländer Loc. cit. and B.M.C. p. 42, 5 (B.M.C. says the head is the head of Aeneas).

<sup>72</sup> Dionysius (I, 50) seems to have two separate accounts before him.

<sup>73</sup> Die Münzen Akarnaniens p. 131, nos. 48-52.

<sup>74</sup> Hermes 10, 243. Some have interpreted the goddess as 'Η Λευκάς.

<sup>75</sup> Ad Aen. 9, 530:

... Troianoque a sanguine clarus Acestes.

Cp. Con. 5, 35:

Troia Crimiso conceptum flumine Acestes mater quem genuit.

<sup>76</sup> Ant. I, 52.

<sup>77</sup> B.M.C. I, 473; pl. XLVII, 21.

<sup>78</sup> 8, 24, 2.

<sup>79</sup> Babelon, *Traité*, p. 1555. Cp. Hill, *Coins of Ancient Sicily*, Introduction p. 13; also, pp. 86-88.

<sup>80</sup> 2, 5:

<sup>81</sup> Babelon, *Catalogue de la Collection de Luynes*, nos. 1104-1112.

<sup>82</sup> Babelon loc. cit., nos. 1120-1121.

<sup>83</sup> B.M.C. Sicily, p. 137.

<sup>84</sup> B.M.C. I, 174; pl. XXIX, 17.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid. I, 166.

## LATIN WEEK 1949

"FIFTH ANNIVERSARY" will be the special theme of Latin Week, which will include the significant anniversary date of April 21, next spring. In the short time of five years the celebration of "Latin Week" has grown in scope and popularity to the point where an estimated 700 schools take part. The custom has spread to almost every state in the Union; and last year orders for Latin Week Bulletins were received from Canada and England. (See also page 62.)

More than the speech of every-day life

## CLASSICAL RHETORIC IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

Walter A. Jennrich

THE PAPYRI dug up during the past fifty years have certainly made a valuable contribution to *New Testament* scholarship. However, their importance is limited chiefly to the areas of vocabulary and grammar. And though the student of the *New Testament* welcomes all aids which the papyri furnish for lexical and grammatical studies, yet he must be careful not to overestimate the value of these latest findings. For the comparison of the papyri with the *New Testament* literature is not always a happy one, since all things are not equal. Most of the papyri are common-place documents such as go into our wastebaskets. In other words, they are non-literary, and hence their value is severely restricted when they are applied, by way of criticism, to the literary language of the *New Testament*.

Diction, to be sure, plays a vital part in lending color and adding graphic detail to the lines of composition. But choice of words is, after all, of comparatively small importance in determining the style of a Greek author. Rather, it is upon the arrangement of the words far more than upon the selection that the all-important persuasion, charm and literary power of the Greek writer depends. Most of the papyri, of course, lack any beauty of composition. But, the *New Testament*, on the other hand, employs just such persuasive

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QIn this article the author dissents somewhat from the point of view expressed in these columns a year ago by Professor Arthur W. Calhoun ("Papyri in Classical Education," 43.12), wherein was stressed the everyday or non-literary aspect of the papyri as the key to understanding many parts of the *New Testament*.

Dr. Jennrich is a graduate of Concordia Seminary in St. Louis, and received his Ph.D. in Greek from Washington University. He is at present a member of the faculty of Concordia College in Milwaukee. The rhetorical aspects of *New Testament* style have been one of his special interests.

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and literary power to realize its ends. Therefore, a desideratum in *New Testament* scholarship is a more careful consideration of the literary and rhetorical element which shapes the composition of each *New Testament* writer. Such a rhetorical study has been rather neglected in the past.

This neglect is due, perhaps, to the erroneous idea that the era generally contemporaneous with the time of the writing and forming of the *New Testament* canon was a barren period in the field of Greek literature. For example, the late Professor Olmstead asked the doubting question: Where are the examples from any part of the Roman world of literary works written in the Greek tongue and still in existence which one might bring as a parallel to the *New Testament*, between Strabo near the beginning and Dio Chrysostom and Plutarch near the end of the first century? In other words, who are the writers and scholars of the first century A.D. who wrote in the literary *Koiné* Greek? Very simply this is answered by referring to the Stuart Jones edition of the standard Greek-English lexicon (Liddell and Scott, 1940) which lists 61 Greek writers of the first century after Christ. This figure does not include any *New Testament* writers, Philo, or any writer whose period overlaps either the first century before Christ or the second century after. For example, note the following authors (and their works) who used the literary Greek as their prose medium of expression:

Dioscorides, whose great work on *Materia Medica* stands like a beacon in its field. Written in 77-78, 5 books on the art of medicine.

Onosander, a Greek philosopher who wrote a commentary (now lost) on Plato's *Republic* and a work on the art of war entitled *Strategicus*.

Cornutus, a Stoic philosopher (66-68 banished) who wrote *On Greek Theology*.

The *Bibliotheca* of Apollodorus of which 3 out of 7 books survive on the topic of Greek mythology.

Demetrius' treatise *On Style* (Rhetoric).

The famous essay *On the Sublime* in the field of literary criticism.

A Greek romance *Chaereas and Callirhoe* by Chariton of Aphrodisias in Caria. It consists of 8 books in the form of a historical novel.

*The Wisdom of Solomon* written in Greek about A.D. 40.

*The Book of Baruch* which was written soon after the fall of Jerusalem.

*The Letter of Jeremiah.*

*The Letter of Claudius to the Alexandrians* (A.D. 41).

Of course, not all 60 of these literary works are extant today and many of them are, perhaps, alluded to only by title, but even so, this listing overwhelmingly does show that the *New Testament* writings arose in an age which was by no means unlearned and lacking in culture. For these Greek literary achievements quoted above reveal a highly developed, alert, sensitive, appreciative Greek civilization, very active in the field of science, medicine, rhetoric, education, theology and religion. This provided an ideal soil, broad, tolerant and enquiring, for the literary expression of the new Christian faith.

In addition to the evidence cited above, the Greek-speaking world of *New Testament* times is further absolved from the astounding charge of literary illiteracy by three indubitable facts. The first is the great number of Greek literary papyri copied in that century to be read by the people then living. Secondly, the enormous libraries which were built in the first and second centuries: at Alexandria, for instance, 400,000 rolls. Thirdly, every considerable house in Greco-Roman times contained a library room.

To be sure, the age of the *New Testament* was almost seething with literature on all subjects written in the literary *Koiné*. Of course, this does not warrant the conclusion that all the *New Testament* writers in equal measure were the shining literary lights of their day and renowned exponents of the

accepted cultural standard of the literary *Koiné*. But it does indicate that the rich literary background of the *New Testament* is potentially a greater influence upon the style and language of its authors than has been heretofore imagined.

### Modern Neglect of Rhetoric

If *New Testament* scholars today have largely neglected the rhetorical element in the *New Testament*, such was not the case with the earliest critics of the *New Testament*, many of whom themselves wrote in the Greek tongue and hence had a better feeling for the style of its authors than any modern student can presume to have. The early Church Fathers did not hesitate to express their opinions about and their admiration for the literary merits of the *New Testament*, especially the letters of Paul. St. John Chrysostom, himself one of the greatest Christian orators, states that it was precisely because of his power of rhetoric that Paul was admired among Christians, Jews and heathen, a power which will find a response in the hearts of men to the end of time. Yet, according to Chrysostom, it is not the rhetoric of the world that he finds in St. Paul. He does not see there "the smoothness of Isocrates, the weight of Demosthenes, the dignity of Thucydides, and the elevation (sublimity) of Plato."

The same testimony is continued in the statement of Gregory of Nyssa (d. 395 A.D.): "Paul himself, the noble minister of the Word, using no other embellishment than the truth alone, deemed it a shame to dress out his language by such adornments, and, with an eye on the truth alone, instructed us with noble and fitting counsel."

Testimony from a Latin source is contained in the letters that are supposed to have passed between Paul and Seneca. Teuffel calls the correspondence fictitious but Norden accepts it. Whether true or not the story will illustrate a general point of view. In Letter VII Seneca urges St. Paul to pay more attention to style that it may correspond in excellence with the matter: *vellem, cures et cetera ut maiestati earum* (his letter) *cultus sermonis*

*non desit.* With Letter IX he sends to him a book *de verborum copia*. In Letter XIII, he draws Paul's attention to the fact that he employs allegory too much and urges him accordingly to avoid excessive embellishments and take care to use exact and appropriate language. St. Paul answers commending Seneca's accomplishments and recommending to him in turn "*irreprehensibilem sophiam.*"

Hieronymus, while holding that St. Paul was an accomplished Hebrew scholar and that he had a good knowledge of Greek secular literature, yet declared that Paul was unable to express in another language (i.e., in Greek) the deepest thoughts and cared nothing for elegance of expression, provided he set forth his meaning intelligibly.

Augustine, himself a good rhetorician, appreciated the rhetorical elements in St. Paul. He sets forth the view that the apostle used the rhetorical to produce the effect that he desired—that its use, in other words, was always conscious. In support of his view, Augustine cites *Romans* 5, 3-5 as an example of Paul's use of the figure called by the Greeks "climax" and by the Romans "gradatio." He commends Paul's use of this figure because it allows the thought to ascend to complete-

ness by short and simple steps and thus renders it easy.

Though the opinions of these Church Fathers may differ in their judgment of Paul's conscious use of the "world's" formal rhetoric, yet their very remarks on this subject do show that they were keenly aware of the literary efforts which Paul displayed in his epistles.

These, then, are some of the considerations which make desirable a more thorough investigation of rhetorical style in the *New Testament*. The estimate of the use of rhetoric in the *New Testament* has not been in all essentials true. With the view that the sacred writers were more concerned with the sense than the manner of expression one has no quarrel. But they knew as well as any author must know that the two are not quite so easily divorced. And therefore, if we are to attempt to gain better appreciation of the *New Testament* authors, surely it is of supreme importance to lay some stress upon points of artistic form, most especially in a literature where form and substance are so indissolubly allied as that of the Greek language, even though the grammar and syntax of the *Koiné* does depart, at times, from strict classical rules.

#### AMERICAN CLASSICAL LEAGUE INSTITUTE

ONE OF THE MEMORABLE events of the past professional year was the Institute of the American Classical League held at Miami University in Oxford, Ohio, on June 17, 18, 19. The setting and the weather contributed much to the pleasure of the occasion; so did the accommodations and the well-managed arrangements provided for the visitors. Equally important was the opportunity for a national meeting (the first in some years) where secondary-school leaders in Latin and college teachers could make new, and renew old, acquaintances, and talk shop.

Much shop was talked. The program was down-to-earth and progressive, if not actually radical at times. The delegates talked back to the speakers; questions were asked; and this reporter carried away the impression that the group as a

whole was alert and vigorous, and keenly aware of the problems facing Latin teachers as a body. The papers presented, fortunately, will either be presented in full, or summarized, in forthcoming issues of the *Classical Outlook*.

One of the impressive features of the program was an afternoon session devoted to the history of the American Classical League itself over the past thirty years. The League organized and carried through the great Classical Investigation, has maintained the Service Bureau, publishes the *Classical Outlook*, and performs many other valuable services for Latin teachers.

Not the least encouraging event of the Institute was the announcement that a second Institute will be held next spring.

N.J.D.

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What inspired the poet to write  
"A thing of beauty is a joy forever"?

## Keats and Sosibios

William C. McDermott

*Thou still unravish'd bride of quietness,  
Thou foster-child of silence and slow time,  
Sylvan historian, who canst thus express  
A flowery tale more sweetly than our rhyme.*

IN HIS *Ode on a Grecian Urn* Keats made an attempt to solve the problem of death by turning from the mutability of life to the unchanging beauty of art.<sup>1</sup> As Finney said, the ode "is a rich mosaic of Keats's experience in life and art."<sup>2</sup> Here as elsewhere Keats' poetry is fascinating to the classical student not only because of its intrinsic beauty but also through its reflection of the classic in a sensitive modern mind. Although the problem of Keats' sources of inspiration in the poem has been discussed in detail and solved as nearly as such a problem can be solved,<sup>3</sup> I am led to discuss it briefly by recurring questions from my students concerning the "Urn" and by a recent note in this journal concerning "Greek" vases.<sup>4</sup> In this note it was suggested that "Keats was describing a marble urn of the late Greek or early Roman period, or letting his fancy weave a composite of several such marble urns which he had seen." The problem is at the same time simpler and more complicated than this statement indicates. Simpler because the records show specific acquaintance on the part of the poet with notable vases of this type, more complicated since varied influences were mingled.

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(William C. McDermott is a member of the Department of Classical Studies at the University of Pennsylvania. His doctoral work on representations of the ape in ancient art, done at the Johns Hopkins University, has become a standard authority and a classic of its kind.

For another study of classical influences in Keats, the reader will recall Frederika Beatty's "Theocritus in Hampstead" in this magazine last March (43.327).

Keats had spent many hours entranced by the Elgin marbles, had read widely about the classic world,<sup>5</sup> and was familiar with the large, sculptured marble vases which are so notable in the neo-Attic art of the last century B.C.<sup>6</sup> His reflections on literature, painting and sculpture and their relations to each other are mingled in the inspiration of the poem, but the most specific influence was his knowledge of several neo-Attic vases. He had seen the Townley vase in the British Museum on which the sculptured panel around the vase contains ten dancing Bacchic figures.<sup>7</sup>

*What men or gods are these? What maidens loth?  
What mad pursuit? What struggle to escape?*

He had also seen engravings of the Borghese vase, perhaps at Haydon's studio, in Piranesi's *Vasi e Candalabri*.<sup>8</sup> On it one of the figures plays on pipes, another on a lyre.

*What pipes and timbrels? What wild ecstasy?*

A vine with leaves forms the upper border of the sculptured band on the same vase. In the *Musée Napoléon*, a volume on Napoleon's artistic loot from Italy, he had seen an engraving of the famous vase signed by Sosibios.<sup>9</sup> Around the neck of this crater of Pentelic marble is a pattern of leaves.

*What leaf-fringed legend haunts about thy shape?*

That the vase of Sosibios affected Keats is shown by the fact that he made a tracing of the engraving.<sup>10</sup> On the sculptured band eight dancing or walking figures flank an altar. The second from the left is playing on the pipes, the third on a lyre.

*And, happy melodist, unwearyed,  
For ever piping songs for ever new;*

However the sacrifice depicted in the fourth

stanza of Keats' poem is not influenced by this vase but rather by Claude's painting "The Sacrifice to Apollo,"<sup>11</sup> although details may have been suggested by the Panathenaic procession in the frieze of the Parthenon<sup>12</sup> or even more by the portrayal of the *suovetaria* pictured on the sculptured band of the Holland House vase which was another of Piranesi's engravings.<sup>13</sup>

*Who are these coming to the sacrifice?*

To what green altar, O mysterious priest,  
Lead'st thou that heifer lowing at the skies,  
And all her silken flanks with garlands drest?

The lovers about to kiss may be seen in two of the figures on the Townley vase.

Bold lover, never, never canst thou kiss,  
Though winning near the goal—yet, do not grieve;  
She cannot fade, though thou hast not thy bliss,  
For ever wilt thou love, and she be fair!

That the chief specific influence on Keats is to be found in these vases of the neo-Attic school is most clearly shown in the great variety of incongruous scenes in the poem and on the vases. For example the eight figures on the vase of Sosibios are Apollo with his lyre, Artemis with her bow, Hermes, three maenads dancing, a Pyrrhic dancer, and a satyr playing the pipes. These figures were the stock in trade of these later imitative sculptors.<sup>14</sup>

Keats, we see, did not hesitate to lavish his golden words on objects which the archaeologists now deprecate because they are imitative and Greco-Roman.<sup>15</sup>

O Attic shape! Fair attitude! with brede<sup>16</sup>  
Of marble men and maidens overwrought.

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Quotations are from the edition of W. T. Arnold (The Globe Edition, London, 1907) 235 f.

<sup>2</sup> C. L. Finney, *The Evolution of Keats's Poetry* (2 vols., Cambridge, Mass., 1936) 2,639.

<sup>3</sup> The results of the research on the sources of the ode are presented by Paul Wolters, "Keats' Grecian Urn,"

*Archiv fuer das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, 120 (1908) 53–61, pl. tes I–III; and by Sir Sidney Colvin, *John Keats* (New York, 1917) 415–418, plates VI (opp. p. 264), IX (opp. p. 342), XI–XII (opp. pp. 416, 418). Finney's analysis of the poem and the sources of Keats' inspiration is exhaustive (2,636–645).

<sup>4</sup> Dorothy K. Hill, "What are 'Greek Vases?'" *CJ* 43 (1948) 223 f.

<sup>5</sup> For the source of Keats' description of Greek customs in the *Lamia* cf. Finney, 674–677. Keats at one time planned to learn Greek, but later abandoned the project: Maurice Buxton Forman, *The Letters of John Keats* (2 vols., Oxford, 1931) 1,149 (no. 60 to J. H. Reynolds, April 27, 1818): "... shall learn Greek, ... I long to feast upon old Homer ..."; 2,465 (no. 147 to his brother and sister, Sept. 17, 1819).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Fr. Hauser, *Die neu-attischen Reliefs* (Stuttgart, 1889); E. Loewy, *Neugriechische Kunst* (Leipzig, 1922) pp. 7–8, 11, Figs. 22–23, 26; G. Richter, *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks* (New Haven, 1930) 181–182, 516–517 (figs. 514, 515, 517).

<sup>7</sup> Wolters, pl. IIIA; Colvin, pl. XIIA (opp. p. 418).

<sup>8</sup> The vase is now in the Louvre, Wolters, pl. IIb (from Piranesi, 2, pl. 109); pl. IIIb (from Piranesi, 2, pl. 110); Colvin, pl. XIIb (opp. p. 418); Hauser, 84 f.; Loewy, p. 8, Fig. 26.

<sup>9</sup> The engraving from *Musée Napoléon* (2, pls. 22–23) is reproduced by Wolters (pl. Ia–c) and Colvin (pl. XI, opp. p. 416). Cf. Hauser, 7 f.; Loewy, 7, 11, fig. 23. For Sosibios cf. Lippold, *RE* s.v. Sosibios 7. E. A. Gardner used this vase as a typical example of the imitative reliefs of the neo-Attic school: *Handbook of Greek Sculpture* (2nd ed., London, 1915) pp. 551 f., fig. 149.

<sup>10</sup> Wolters, pl. Ia.

<sup>11</sup> Colvin, pl. VI (opp. p. 264).

<sup>12</sup> Amy Lowell argued in favor of the frieze of the Parthenon as the chief source of the scene of sacrifice and suggested that Keats chose his title because *Ode on the Elgin Marbles* would have interfered with the reader's appreciation of the poem, but Keats' own words disprove this: Lowell, *John Keats* (2 vols., Boston and New York, 1925) 2,241 f. (on p. 242 she spoke of "the so-called Sosibios vase," although the signature of Sosibios appears on the base of the altar).

<sup>13</sup> Wolters, pl. IIa.

<sup>14</sup> Hauser noted 50 stock figures (plates I–IV).

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Richter, loc. cit.: "... in the earlier works, in spite of conscious arrangement for decorative effect, the result is always simple and natural; while the Roman copyist in trying to obtain this decorative quality became affected." A more detailed discussion: G. Richter, "A Neo-Attic Krater in the Metropolitan Museum," *JHS*, 45 (1925) 201–209.

<sup>16</sup> Not "brede" as quoted by Miss Hill: "brede" means "embroidery"; cf. Finney, 2,643.

— In November

"Audio-Visual Aids in the Classics" by Helen C. Gunter

# Education World Society And Rome

By Gordon L. Keyes

*Ed. Note: "The primary purpose of this essay," writes the author, "is to set the stage for a complete study of education, in the widest sense, during the Early Roman Empire."*

Professor Keyes has done a great deal more than he proposes; he has brought to bear powerful methods of interpretation and analysis, Toynbee's among them, upon contemporary society's *Number One Problem*. The result is not necessarily comfortable reading for Classicists.

## I. HISTORICAL SETTING

### *The Era of Political Experiment*

ROME'S CHIEF GIFT to Mediterranean Civilization lay in her organization of its *Universal State*.<sup>1</sup> The city states of earlier times had performed most of the experiments in constitutional practice, and, to a great extent, all later political development in antiquity can be interpreted as application of the positive and negative lessons learned in that earlier period of experimentation. The differences were the inevitable ones arising out of differences in the scale and scope of application. Circumstances eventually led the city states to respond unsuccessfully to the challenges which faced them; and this faulty reaction to stimulus led to their being no longer able to exist as in the previous sort of world. The period came to an end in which small states could indulge in slow constitutional growth, characterized by fairly isolated experimentation, with trial and error, relatively free from outside interference, except for what came by way of such loose-knit associations as the Peloponnesian League. The leagues which existed before the consolidation of the Athenian Empire were comparatively restricted either in geographical

scope or in the degree of their centralization. The centuries-old period of more or less "splendid isolation," wherein autonomy had been a state's most prized possession, was superseded by the age of the Hellenistic monarchies.

These latter were not in themselves bad, and, in fact, they represent a partially successful reaction to the changing circumstances. But from this period forward, the political history of antiquity is a record of grasping, with an element of desperation previously lacking, after solutions to problems of greater scope than had faced the earlier states.<sup>2</sup> No leader or political body seemed able to comprehend the whole of the situation, which, unlike the small affairs of small states, now embraced the world of that day. This age seems in many ways to have been one in which men were out of their depth in problems of political and social organization, and while floundering in search of solutions, were only succeeding in finding stop-gap remedies. This is not to deny the ingenuity and limited success of many elements in the internal organization of the several Hellenistic great powers.

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(Gordon L. Keyes was born in Kearney, Ontario, and graduated from the Honours Course in Classics in Victoria College in the University of Toronto. His A.M. was also taken at Toronto; his doctoral work was done at Princeton. After two years' teaching at Birmingham-Southern College, he joined the faculty of Victoria College in the fall of 1947, where the major part of his work is in Greek and Roman History. During his stay in Alabama, he served as state Vice-President of CAMWS.

Dr. Keyes' interest in Roman education is part of a more comprehensive interest in the relationship of Christianity to classical civilization.

### *Failure of Isolation*

THE EARLY STATES had had a share of both isolation and panhellenism, but the latter had seldom been strongly tested. Sentiment regarding their common language, and the religious beliefs and rites (including the

games) in which they shared, had been a fairly sufficient substitute for international law; perhaps these factors can be considered a sort of international law, in an age when the interests and activities of the various states were seldom at close or deadly grips.<sup>3</sup> The Peloponnesian War marks the beginning of an age of conflict, in which the old principle of autonomy—a relict of a time when isolation was a practical fact and not merely a sentimental memory—implied little short of anarchy, since international relations were become so involved. In this age there was a premium on organization of superior resources, and the Hellenistic monarchies represented such organization of superior resources; which latter alone gave strength under the new conditions of close competition. These new states are in some slight degree analogous to the great national states of modern Europe—the England of Egbert, William the Conqueror, and of James I; the France of the Merovingians and of Louis XI; the Spain of Ferdinand and Isabella; the Germany of Napoleon and of Bismarck; and the Italy of Napoleon and of Garibaldi. The analogy lies in the growth and resultant rivalry of a number of great powers with overlapping interests. Circumstances made these greater aggregations of power and resources the rule during the period which followed the death of Alexander.

The Hellenistic States were in close contact with one another, their borders were not fixed, and their spheres of influence constantly clashed in their common recruiting ground; and they lacked an international law effective in regulating their relationship. Hence the period of their duration was marked by almost continual war, the several states striving to attain a position from which they might impose sovereignty upon the rest. The immediate motive of each competitor was certainly self-interest, but, for all that, each was unconsciously responding to civilization's need to escape from confusion. The citizens of all the Hellenistic states might have been expected to make more significant contributions to their own and the world's good if freed from internecine conflict. The

"stimulating effect" of international rivalry may have been healthy in the days before the Peloponnesian War; but international rivalry in the succeeding age was exhausting rather than stimulating. A political-economic framework was needed, within which the people of a world becoming a *cosmopolis* might live together under law, since their association with each other was now inevitable. Isolation was no longer possible, except, perhaps, in such fringes as the Crimea; and what was needed was an agency for law, order and central planning, for a world whose peoples were under the necessity of living in close relationship with one another, whether or not they liked the prospect.

### *The Rise of Rome*

OF THE GREAT states of the time, the Roman republic, for a variety of reasons, prevailed in the struggle for ascendancy; and to it was accorded the responsibility for sponsoring the Millennium. She faced challenges of two varieties: internal, as regarded her own organization, and its adaptability for the new role; external, in the necessity of welding the Mediterranean World into something like a co-operative whole.

The *Aeneid* may represent a not necessarily self-conscious attempt to justify Rome in her role of sponsor of the Mediterranean Universal State. The harking back to the Trojan Era indicates something more than a simple-minded effort to appropriate for Rome legends in virtue of which she might hold up her head mythologically with the Greek states. The charge that the Romans lacked imagination may be unjust: theirs was the handicap of encountering at a relatively early stage in their development the sophisticated inhabitants of *Magna Graecia*. Like four-year-olds forced into constant association with fourteen-year-olds who no longer believe in fairies, the Romans lacked the right environment for the growth either of a native mythology or of an indigenous intellectual culture. The glamour of the Greek city-legends was by no means destroyed by the advent of an age of reason, however; and Vergil probably sought, among other things,

to overcome the Roman self-consciousness as to lack of pedigree, by associating them with the earliest Greek legends. More subtle, but infinitely more important, Roman involvement in the Homeric legends would offer not only to the Romans but to the Greeks as well a sop to their sensitivities in their mutual imperial relationship: the Romans, in their escape from the category of the culturally *nouveaux-riches*; and the Greeks, in the suggestion that both peoples belonged, in a sense, to the same civilization *ab origine*, and that the Romans came not as utter barbarians, but as charter members (albeit wanderers), of the same general society. This is not to gainsay the fact that the Greeks liked to console themselves at times with the reflection that they were culturally superior to their conquerors—and that the Romans were disposed to agree. Nevertheless, an antique pedigree of this sort, and the desire of the Romans to believe therein, would add a certain sentimental mythological-historical propriety to the Roman Universal State.<sup>4</sup> In the well-known lines, *Aeneid* 6. 247-53, Vergil shows some appreciation of Rome's historic role; and the idea of exploitation is replaced by recognition of the responsibility which accompanies the capacity for government.

Rome herself cannot be held responsible for all the success and failure of the new World Order. At first the Roman attitude tolerated exploitation of the "silent partners"; but a sense of responsibility made itself felt increasingly.<sup>5</sup> Rome's role was to provide the framework within which peoples and individuals of the cosmopolis could make the contribution to the common life for which each was best fitted.

## 2. THE CHALLENGES

THE FOLLOWING is a very hasty array of the principal challenges facing the Mediterranean World at this time, and Rome, its executive agent. First was the need for law and order, and a peaceful framework within which all citizens might develop potentialities and resources for the good of themselves and of society in general. The second follows closely

—the need for efficiency in administration: economic, as regarded production and distribution; military, as regarded maintenance of internal security and of the frontiers; judicial, to safeguard the individual. Third was the need for an education fitting men for citizenship in the new cosmopolis. The fourth was something harder to define, but most important of all: some element was needed to fend off stagnation, and to give the world the zest and vigor necessary to its responding successfully to the challenges with which it was confronted. Whether a civilization which appears to have worn itself out with "sin," i.e. faulty reaction to challenges, can be "born again," i.e. make a fresh start with renewed enthusiasm, efficiency, and vitality in experimentation, is an interesting question upon which the subsequent history of Russia may throw light.

The Greek-speaking world cannot properly be held responsible for political developments on the world scale during the Imperial period, but in the various other spheres of civilized activity responsibility is shared. The Mediterranean World undoubtedly failed in its latter-day corporate life, a fact obvious from its ultimate collapse; but the fact that the collapse was postponed for over four centuries indicates that the failure was by no means abject. The problems presented by the challenge of education were manifold, and in a sense comprehended all the rest. In terms of formal education, Rome's imperial role was not to teach, but rather to determine the goal. The actual teaching, and the duty of determining the practical means best calculated to attain to that goal, would be largely the duty of the educational experts, of whom there was no dearth.

## The Challenge of Education

WHAT WAS COMPRISED in the "challenge of education"? It should have made men conscious of their world-citizenship, and of its implications. It should have made them efficient in government, and in dealing with the practical problems of the sphere to which each was called. It should, if possible, have broken away from the dead hand of classicism,

giving men leadership in the present, and toward the future; teaching them to meet the challenges of their own day with something more likely to succeed than the responses hit upon in earlier days to meet different situations. Its task was not simply to "hand on the heritage of the past," but to train minds capable of empirical efficiency in the ever-changing present. If the "heritage of the past," as it is generally understood in academic circles, can be shown to have value in the attainment of that goal, then all hail to it. But as a general rule, purveyors of "the wisdom of the past" are not prepared to subject their several fields of operation to a sincere scrutiny to determine their actual educational value. Such scrutinies as are allowed serve simply to hammer out a list of more or less unjustifiable *a priori* reasons for continuing the subject in question in the curriculum—a list which impresses only Believers. How many scholars are willing to face the interesting question of whether the teaching of their subjects really does deserve a place in the curriculum, considered from the points of view of traditional teaching methods, content, and relative value in the attainment of valid educational goals? The fact that a subject has been taught in the schools for fifteen centuries should not exempt it from such searing self-examination. At any rate, the real task of education in the Roman World was not consolidation of the wisdom of the past, for either its own or future (i.e. Renascence) generations, but to use and adapt that wisdom, if possible, for the benefit of the men of that day, who had problems enough, and great difficulty in solving them. Rome's function was not to transmit Greek Culture and the Christian Religion to Mediaeval and Modern Europe, as we were once so constantly told, but to make a permanent success of a Universal State. As regards the "classicism" of the Empire, one factor must be borne in mind in assessing its evil: there is great danger in the supposition that history repeats itself, and in the deduction of specific lessons from specific occasions, to be applied in somewhat similar situations later. But if a response once

successful is to be repeated with good hope of success, the new circumstances must be the same, in so far as the response is concerned. Identical conclusions follow only from identical premises, and there is risk in assuming a complete from a partial analogy. Identical causes produce identical effects; but in history, identical causes are of such improbable occurrence that they can be left out of calculation. Knowledge of facts can perhaps be built up from the experience of the past, and knowledge of certain sequences of facts may seem obtainable to anyone of sufficient naïveté as to imagine that every "result" is the effect of, or primarily of, only two or three easily discovered "causes." But the correct reaction to unparalleled and unpredictable combinations of facts cannot be taken over from a mere knowledge of past reactions in somewhat analogous circumstances.

### The Dangers of Classicizing

WHEN A PERIOD of vitality, experimentation, and general success is followed by a period of calm and of reconstruction, it is not unnatural for men of that later age to seek refuge in the wisdom of the earlier successful era. The result is a classicizing movement, hopefully labeled as a "consolidation of previous advances." It involves imitation of earlier techniques, admiration of the past coupled with a present inferiority complex, and a resurrection and worship of the holy cows of the Brave Days of Old. Such a movement is barren. For all the apparent similarity of situations, the stimuli are now different, and demand different responses. The question is, How to use the experience of the past for what it is worth, without letting it prove a drag upon present initiative and an obstacle to clear-sighted observation of the immediate situation. Some other means of salvation must be found, something to provide new thinking on current issues, to keep the world from thinking that old solutions and responses are adequate to the ever-changing circumstances of life. If it fails in this, and if the world attempts to get along with its old reaction-patterns, it is headed toward collapse. Re-

peated failures will in time produce a situation beyond the power of human wisdom to remedy, and the society in question will lose its cultural grip. The problem of providing for a survival of the ability to adapt, adjust, and react successfully is obviously the supreme challenge to the educational processes of any civilization. From a long-range and general point of view, education under the Roman Empire failed badly to meet this challenge.

### 3. THE FAILURE OF ROME

It faced a number of difficulties. In the first place, there was no imperial concept of education, let alone a sense of imperial responsibility; the first problem was, as to how long it would be before the imperial government realized that a problem existed. In the second place, the world had two languages of international status. This fact need not have presented a difficulty. But because Greek and Latin prevailed in geographically distinct spheres, this dualism led to, and maintained, a sense of distinction which grew increasingly obvious in the cleavage between Eastern and Western Christendom.<sup>6</sup> Thirdly, there were in the Empire certain peoples who could not be culturally assimilated, e.g. the Jews. The Druids, with the way of life they represented, were disposed of before long, and without too great difficulty. But the Jews continued to present a knotty problem. In the fourth place were the animosities, resentment and rivalries bequeathed by the "Time of Troubles." In the fifth place, the world was tired, and had lost something of its self-confidence and spiritual *élan*. The inclination of the men of that age was not to push "upward still and onward," but to attain to security through wisdom external to themselves. The Golden Age heralded by such literary expressions as the Fourth Eclogue is not one of successful reaction to stimulus, but rather of softening of stimulus.<sup>7</sup> In the sixth place, there were problems more obviously urgent than those of education. The mechanics of the administration of the Empire, and the defense of its frontiers, were two such. Finally, the Emperors, whose govern-

ment alone possessed the authority to deal with cosmopolitan projects, were chosen for any other reason than for pre-eminence as philosophers or educators.

We must next determine the sense in which education is to be understood.

### Education and Society

EVERYTHING WHICH a person learns in or out of school, whether from parents, associates or teachers, is part of his training as a "social animal." The whole of our environment, and our entire experience, make up our education as members of society. Education is synonymous with life. Few states outside of Plato's speculation have ever attempted anything like complete regulation of education. They content themselves with insisting upon a few basic lessons necessary to citizenship under the circumstances peculiar to each of them; these consist not merely, or even usually, of "civics" or "ideology," but rather of such knowledge as a man seems actually to require to lead a fairly useful and harmless life in the society in which he finds himself. How extensive that necessary minimum may be depends upon the complexity of the society in question, and the types of occupation in which its members engage. If a government could devise such an all-embracing system of education as would develop all the potentialities of its citizens in the way and to the degree most likely to provide for the individual's highest happiness and for the good of society, every sort of problem relative to organized society would be well on the way to solution. But, as Plato says, that ideal end will hardly be reached until philosophers have become kings!

### Education and Will

EDUCATION IS NOT merely an effort to adjust man to his environment, nor merely the development of his potentialities. Man's power to alter his environment is limited, and his education should cultivate his adaptability to that inevitable element; but it should also stimulate him to adjust his environment to himself if and when that is desirable and possible. As far as potentialities are concerned,

it must be a commonplace by now that they are neuter as regards good and evil, advantage and disadvantage. Human potentialities are in one sense the tools, in another the material, from which results are effected. When possessing both *ability* and *opportunity* for activity, man must then have purpose and intention. Whether he acts consciously for the sake of an "end," or merely for the sake of the acting, he must have motivation of some sort. Education in the broadest sense must inspire man toward some field of activity, as well as providing him with the knowledge and skill necessary for activity. It must provide, or, idealistically, discover, a *purpose* in life, and must then provide a motive for following up that purpose. Purpose and motive may differ widely: the former may be subconscious in the individual, and relative to an end beyond his interest or comprehension; but motive is the consciously held personal reason for an individual's performing a given action.<sup>9</sup> The two are analogous to Hegel's Objective and Subjective Wills, the former having to do with historical necessity on the grand scale, and the latter with individual motivation, impulse and desire; according to Hegel, the ideal end is for the two to coincide, and for the individual to *will* freely that which is objectively necessary and good. Education in its highest philosophical reaches must concern itself with purpose, i.e. the Objective Will; but its classroom concern will probably be directed almost exclusively toward motive, i.e. toward molding the Subjective Will. The average teacher may not have attained a highly desirable position analogous to Plato's philosopher-rulers, who contemplate the Idea of the Good, the Master Plan of the Universe, which explains the connection between, and gives significance and meaning to, the lesser diagrams; but their intellectual leaders should certainly be zealous to grasp or to formulate some co-ordinating governing principle(s). Whether questions of this sort are *practical* or not, from the point of view of education, will be obvious enough to anyone who reflects upon the influence of religious beliefs during our mediaeval period, or upon the ex-

tremely practical effect in every phase of life of certain "philosophical" principles in contemporary Germany and Russia. The scope of education, in its most realistic sense, must include, then, the formulation of a conception of man's role in the universal and eternal scheme of things—and persuasion of individual men to live, each after his own peculiar and specialized fashion, in accordance with that conception.

### The Co-operative Society

THE FUNCTION most commonly attributed to education is that of developing man's potentialities for living in a co-operative society. Specialization of function is the invariable accompaniment of civilization; the purpose of every man's activity in organized society being to achieve his own highest good through working for the good of the members of the society to which he belongs. This is not identical to saying that the state is more important than the individual: it simply means that individuals have joined in a co-operative society in which they seek to further the interests of each member by putting at the service of all the peculiar talents of each. Motive is concerned with the individual's awareness that his personal interests are generally, even if not always, served by his living and working under, and preserving the sanctity of, such a co-operative principle. There is admittedly nothing holy about the state as such: it is an instrument of expediency, and, being a human creation, it frequently falls short of achieving the purpose implied in that theory of its nature. Purpose is concerned with the preservation of organized society as such, for the benefit of all men in every age—an end which could hardly be secured if individuals were constantly deserting the ranks to seek their fortunes in *non-co-operation*. Each one, then, makes the contribution suggested by his taste and talent; and this is common to all social systems which recognize specialization of function. The task of education is to develop these talents, having in its higher reaches provided a *purpose* for their exercise, and having through society's "secular arm," the govern-

ment, provided a fairly secure field for their exercise, and, finally, on its lower levels, having offered compelling motives for living in accordance with that purpose, in the way suggested by the circumstances of the society in question. It should seek neither to suppress energies, nor to encourage *self-expression* among those whom it has not taught to distinguish which modes of expression are best calculated to serve their own and society's interests. It should seek to canalize human energy and potentiality toward good causes; "good" meaning such as are advantageous from the point of view of society's formulated purpose. The organized forces of education usually fall short as regards orientation, and in the discovery and persistent cultivation of potentialities. Thus they fail even in developing mechanical efficiency, their supposed specialty, through widespread irresponsibility in finding and developing ability. This is partly due to limitation of scope and of authority, and to the usually haphazard integration of the educational and the political and social-economic worlds. Obviously, an ideal educational system would be intelligently and thoroughly co-ordinated with every phase of life. As it is, when purpose and motivation are treated of, it is usually under theological auspices, or in the light of narrow technical requirements, each of questionable enlightenment.

Education, then, in any accurate sense, is something reaching infinitely farther than education as popularly conceived. It must assume total responsibility for making of the raw material of every individual a fitting member of society, a true "*ἓναν πολιτικόν*." It actually does so, in the sense that education is the sum of human experience. *But too much of it is left unplanned, to chance.*

A study of Roman education must consider far more than that liberal schooling which is the sole subject of most treatises in this field. It must start with a search for the general principles, the Objective Will, the grand fundamental *purpose*, of the Imperial society. It must consider the degree of efficiency shown in the *discovery, development, and encouragement* (in the field of motivation)

of talents capable of furthering that purpose. It must consider in the greatest detail possible the social, cultural, and physical *environment*. It must be prepared to face the fact that this great and continuous process of training citizens for citizenship was largely unconscious and unplanned. The ideal end of such an investigation would be a deeper insight into the general problem of education for national and for world citizenship; as well as into the inevitable nature of the decline of the Roman Empire.

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> "Mediterranean" Civilization, in contrast to the Minoan centered upon the Aegean; to the Egyptian centered upon the Nile; to those which in their western reaches extended to the Levant; and to the Christian Civilizations of Eastern and Western Europe, whose centers of equilibrium are further north.

<sup>2</sup> This period could be said to have extended roughly from Aegospotami to Actium.

<sup>3</sup> More precisely, what was lacking was an agency for the effectual enforcement of such international law as could be said to have existed. Cf. Phillipson, C., *The International Law and Customs of Ancient Greece and Rome*, Macmillan, London, 1911, pp. 27-64, especially pp. 63-64.

<sup>4</sup> The campaign of Aeneas in Italy is in a sense a continuation of the Trojan War—a continuation in which the Trojan-Romans are successful, without tarnishing the glory of the Greeks who fought before Troy. The Greek ancestry of warriors in the catalogue in Bk. 7 is to be noted. So also, from a different point of view, is the indication of a contrasting compatibility between Romans and Greeks to be found in the alliance with Evander in Bk. 8. This last agrees with the cultural affinity between Greeks and Trojans, observable in the Iliad. Thus the Trojan-Romans are ancestral foes of the Greeks from antiquity—but these foes have such strong cultural affinities, and have been in contact for so long, that there is no basic cultural reason why they should not settle down together in one universal state. When we regard the Trojan War and the supposed campaigns of Aeneas as partaking to some degree of the nature of picturesque tournaments, as much as of uncompromising fights to the death, we can see that these views are not as inconsistent as might at first appear.

<sup>5</sup> V. Phillipson, *op. cit.*, p. 101 *sq.*

<sup>6</sup> I.e., Byzantium and papal Rome.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Angus, S., *The Religious Quests of the Graeco-Roman World*, Scribner, N. Y., 1929, especially p. 19 *sq.*; Nock, A. D., *Conversion*, Oxford University Press, 1923, pp. 99-121. For the confusion of the times, and the hopes rested in the Imperial Government, *v.e.g.* Vergil, *Georg.* 1. 496-514; and Horace, *Carm.* 4. 2. 37-40. For a Roman appreciation of the success of the Imperial regime, *v. Pliny, N. H.* 27. 1, 2, 3.

<sup>8</sup> Sex provides an obvious example of the difference.

# We See By the Papers . . .

We urge all our readers to appoint themselves special clipping bureaus for this department, and to forward material to us suitably marked with the name of the periodical and the date of issue. If an item appears in a magazine that you do not wish to clip, send us the gist of the material on a penny postcard!—The Editors.

LATIN WEEK, a lively project of the Committee on Educational Policies, received some recognition in the press last spring, just too late to be recorded by this department in May. In the Chicago TRIBUNE of April 19, the column "A Line o' Type or Two" written by Charles Collins paid homage to the week's observance by quoting a paragraph from the *Latin Week Bulletin* and printing "The Wearin' o' the Green" in Latin. The translation, ascribed to M. D. Forrest, M.S.C., begins:

Audistine, carissime, quid ferant undique?  
Hibernia trifolium vetatur crescere.

An editorial by H. J. Haskell of the Kansas City STAR (April 9) supports the week's "special effort to call attention to the importance of the classics" by commenting on Thornton Wilder's novel *The Ides of March* and the significance of its popularity. Many of CJ's readers know that editor Haskell is himself a successful author of popular books on the Classics (*The New Deal in Old Rome*, *This Was Cicero*).

THE OLYMPIC GAMES, celebrated during the summer, turned the attention of newspaper readers in general, and followers of the sport pages in particular, to an ancient tradition that is very much alive today. Through the middle of July the public, with bated breath, followed the progress of the sacred flame from Olympia. An olive branch, ignited by the sun's rays, lighted a 2,400-year-old lamp with the flame, which was transferred to a torch and relayed by runners and naval craft to London. Heightening the romance inherent in the ceremony was the threat of guerrillas to capture the flame and divert the relay route through Communist Yugoslavia. Armed guards protected the

runners. A Greek destroyer covered their movements by shelling the mountainsides. When it arrived at Wembley Stadium in London, the flame had gone out only twice.

A column in *COSMOPOLITAN* for March 1948, "Let's Ditch the Olympics" by Stanley Frank, cynically traces the ancient history of the games from 776 B.C., when Pelops defeated his prospective father-in-law Oenomus by tinkering with the axle of the king's chariot, to 394 A.D., when the corrupted pagan practice was stopped by the emperor Theodosius. (Clipping contributed by Professor J. R. Grant of Western Reserve University, Cleveland.)

Other news of sporting events: Barnard College's Greek Games, held for the forty-sixth consecutive year, including a pageant of Iphigenia, torch race, chariot race, discus throw, etc. (New York HERALD TRIBUNE, April 18—credit to Lt. Col. S. G. Brady, Asheville, N. C.); in Kaying, China, basketball tournament won by Maryknoll Seminary team, who confessed they confused their opponents by calling their plays in Latin (clipping sent by Professor Clarence A. Forbes, University of Nebraska); LATIN KNOCKS OUT ENGLISH, 4-3, headline from the Boston HERALD of June 5 (thanks to Mr. Charles E. Bacon, who has informed this department before of the fortunes of Boston Latin School).

SPEAKING BEFORE the American Hellenic Educational Progressive Association on March 25, 1948, President Truman compared Henry Wallace to "the greatest demagogue of all time, Alcibiades." Journalists who troubled to look up the life of the Athenian traitor generally found the parallelism rather weak. Professor Harry L. Levy of Hunter College sent us the story, with bust of Alcibiades, under the heading "O Hellas!" from the New York TIMES of April 4. From Professor Walter A. Jennrich of Concordia College, Milwaukee, we received the Milwaukee JOURNAL's (April 4) feature article, "Greatest Turncoat of All," a complete character sketch of Alcibiades by Walter Monfried.

The President in turn became the object of vituperation straight out of the Classics, when New York Representative Katherine St. George, complaining of his foreign policy, told the House, "I feel like exclaiming with the great Cicero: 'When, O Catiline, do you mean to cease abusing our patience? How long is that madness of yours

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Arguing, not the role of "The Classics"—  
But what the Department of Classics can teach.

## Courses in Vocabulary

Frank M. Snowden, Jr.

### I. INTRODUCTION

THIS PAPER IS to some extent a reaffirmation on my part of an old conviction<sup>1</sup>—a conviction that the Classicist has an important rôle in vocabulary building. This conviction I have reiterated on several occasions.<sup>2</sup> My conviction that the Classicist has an important obligation in the development of this field is confirmed by the current interest in vocabulary. The book mart is literally flooded with books on vocabulary from Funk's popular books to the recent ACD. Many of these books cite the importance of a knowledge of Greek and Latin roots. S. Stevenson Smith's *How to Double Your Vocabulary*, for example, demonstrates the importance of a knowledge of the classical languages. In a chapter, entitled "The Case for Long Hard Words" Smith writes as follows:

*The master key to the problem of acquiring these long, abstract words, indeed, is the fact that they are most of them derived from Greek and Latin—five thousand of them from seventy Latin and thirty Greek roots, with special twists of meaning given by prefixes or suffixes from the same source. It may seem odd to bring two dead languages into the picture to speed up learning new words in English. But once you know these few key roots, prefixes, and suffixes, you can take a lot of long words apart without any trouble, when you meet*

them, and make a good guess at their primary or literal meaning.<sup>3</sup>

A similar emphasis on the significance of Greek and Latin roots is found in the following headings of another chapter of the same book:<sup>4</sup> 100 Will Get You 5000; How Many -Ologies Do You Know By Name?; How Many of These Are Greek To You?; Latin In the Headlines; When We Talk Roman; Medical Latin That's Also Common English; Greek Words With Many Derivatives; What English Words Could Pliny Sight Read?; Latin Words Taken Into English Unchanged; etc. Finally, a recent book on remedial reading at the college level is typical of books in this field which attach importance to a knowledge of Greek and Latin roots.<sup>5</sup>

The purpose of the present paper is to give a report, together with observations, on the current practices of a selected number of colleges<sup>6</sup> offering separate courses devoted either entirely or, in large part, to vocabulary. Replies to a questionnaire sent to twenty departments of English or Classics have provided the bulk of the material for this paper.

The considerable research in the field of vocabulary leaves little doubt as to the importance of English word study not only in secondary schools but also, *mirabile dictu*, in colleges. As I have stated elsewhere,<sup>7</sup> the grave lack of vocabulary knowledge at the college level is evident in the conspicuous anxiety of college instructors. Whether it is a question of the college student's inability to express himself adequately in written compositions<sup>8</sup> or of his failure to understand the terminology in biology<sup>9</sup> or psychology<sup>10</sup> textbooks, the situation is one that demands earnest consideration. It is no longer desirable to trust that development among these lines will be achieved by leaving the problem to the student himself or to the individual

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(This is a formal version of a paper presented by Professor Snowden at the Cornell College Classical Conference on May 1, 1948.

In recent years Professor Snowden has taken a leading part in discussions of how the Department of Classics can most effectively contribute to the educational needs of students in the contemporary non-selective or general college. In addition to stressing the need for specialized vocabulary courses, he has been one of the leaders in the advocacy of classical courses in translation.

A graduate of Harvard, Professor Snowden is chairman of the Department of the Classics at Howard University.

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teacher who finds that his students have difficulty with the subject matter because the range of their vocabulary is extremely narrow. In other words, the casual, haphazard, and desultory methods of the past must be discarded and replaced by a systematic and intensive study of words which will provide the general college student with methods that can be used effectively in all his courses.

The Classicist is meeting the challenge presented by the conditions outlined above. However, there are perhaps some of our classical colleagues who view these efforts of the Classicist with suspicion, a suspicion similar to that cast upon Classicists who first taught the Classics in translation or first participated in humanities courses offering the Classics in translation. This suspicion seems to regard such innovations in the traditional classical *pabulum* as a weakened brew or as "Altertumswissenschaftslosigkeit." Few of us, however, can deny that the Classicist, as well as other teachers of the humanities, owes an obligation to general education. One aspect of such an obligation is described in *Toward General Education*:

Whatever the cause, the fact remains that the majority of students coming to state universities and even many going to the highly selective private institutions are inadequately equipped in the fundamentals. . . . it [the college] must stand ready not only to give its students a high-powered course in the techniques of effective communication but also to offer instruction in the most elementary matters.<sup>11</sup>

The teacher of the Classics, like other teachers of the humanities, cannot ignore prevailing educational trends without running the risk of causing irreparable damage to the cause of classical instruction and without performing a great disservice to democracy. Of the eleven objectives of general education listed in the Report of the President's Commission on Higher Education,<sup>12</sup> there are few to which the Classicist cannot make a substantial contribution; for, as we all know, there are few fundamental problems that did not fall within the experience of the Greeks and the Romans. The fifth objective of the President's Report is of particular pertinence

for this paper—"To understand the ideas of others and to express one's own effectively." This objective is described in part as follows:

The ability to read—not merely to call words and pronounce symbols but really to grasp the meaning and follow the logic of the writer—is basic to all other human enterprises. To say that the youth in our schools and colleges should learn how to read may seem to be repeating the obvious, but scientific studies have revealed the low level of literacy attained by a large part of our adult population. The experience of college teachers affirms that many students enter the colleges, and not a few graduate, without having acquired more than an elementary degree of practical skill in reading. This skill is a primary objective of general education.<sup>13</sup>

That the Classicist can perform a valuable service in the realization of this objective cited above is obvious. This paper was motivated, among other reasons, by a desire to let others know what is being done in the colleges, especially by Classicists, in the field of vocabulary and word study. A knowledge of such efforts may dissipate these two beliefs of the uninitiated (1) that Classicists do no more than "persecute a man destined to lay bricks all his life with ablative absolutes, *non sequiturs*, and undistributed middles," to use the language appearing in a recent contribution to *School and Society*,<sup>14</sup> and (2) that the Classicists' bailiwick is aristocratic, having no interest in the general education of all students. Finally, in this connection, it should be pointed out to the suspicious Classicist that there is no conflict between the classical program designed for majors and that intended for the general student.

## II. RESULTS OF QUESTIONNAIRE AND OBSERVATIONS

### A. TYPES OF COURSES

The courses fall into three categories:

1. Courses of a general nature: The Romance of Words, Living Language, Vocabulary Building (2 colleges), Language and Word Study, Word Study, Current English, Linguistics, Greek Derivations.

2. Courses with emphasis on the Greek and Latin Element in the English language:

Greek Derivations, Greek and Latin in English, Greek and Latin Elements in English Vocabulary, Latin and Greek in English, the Latin Element in English, the Greek Element in English, Latin and Greek in Current Use.

3. Courses with emphasis on derivation of scientific terms: Latin and Greek in Current Use, Greek and Latin Scientific Terminology, Greek and Latin Elements in Medical Terminology, Classical Backgrounds of Scientific Terminology, Medical Terminology (2 colleges), Greek for Students of the Sciences, Medical Vocabulary, Greek and Latin Derivatives.

The courses are designed for two types of students—for the general student, regardless of his major, and the student of the sciences. It is worthy of note that courses for students of the sciences are offered not only in liberal arts colleges but also in technical and scientific colleges in which no Greek or Latin is taught. The study reveals that the interests of students in the following scientific fields are considered: pre-medicine, pre-dentistry, pre-veterinary medicine, veterinary medicine, biology, and laboratory technology. Inasmuch as departments of science as well as scientific students themselves consider such courses valuable, Classicists, by developing courses along scientific lines, will reach students in areas of the college which have never fallen under the sphere of classical influence. Professor Agard's Committee of the American Classical League would do well to expand the scope of its investigation of the possibility of liaison between the Classics and medical schools to include the possibility of developing courses in the classical derivation not only of medical terms but also of other scientific nomenclature.

**B. DEPARTMENTS OFFERING  
SEPARATE COURSES IN VOCABULARY**

COURSES WERE OFFERED by both English (8) and classical departments (12) in the colleges studied. In some colleges in which English departments offered the course, no classical departments existed. In some colleges, however, English departments offered such courses, while none was offered by the

classical departments. In still other colleges, English and classical departments offered courses simultaneously, with a difference of emphasis. In one case, for example, a classical department offered Greek Derivations and Greek and Latin Scientific Terminology, while the English department offered Current English.<sup>15</sup> In another case, a classical department offered Greek and Latin Derivatives, while the English department offered Living Language.<sup>16</sup> In only two cases was any conflict reported between departments in which it was felt that the courses were competing against each other for enrollment.

Conclusions to be drawn from this section of the study are these: (1) Since some scientific colleges are already offering courses in scientific nomenclature, Classicists should bring to the attention of scientific and technical colleges the desirability of employing Classicists who could teach courses not only in the classical derivations of scientific nomenclature but also courses in the humanities involving classical materials; (2) Classicists are apparently in some instances failing to offer work of this type, with the result that others are meeting this obligation; (3) Classicists should point out that there is no conflict between the work offered by their departments in various aspects of the classical elements in the English language and courses offered by English departments in, for example, the history of the English language.

#### C. NUMBER OF YEARS OFFERED AND ENROLLMENT

OF THE COURSES STUDIED, the most recently introduced has been offered for just one semester while the first to be developed was introduced twenty-three years ago. Since the courses have been offered, on the average, for about nine years, it appears that courses on the college level designed to meet the needs of students requiring specific instruction<sup>17</sup> in various aspects of word study are of somewhat recent origin.

The enrollment varies from one student (in a course offered for the first time, although another course attracted fourteen students during its first semester) to 1200. The follow-

ing table giving the enrollment and the number of years the course has been offered is instructive:

College	Number of Years Offered	Average Enrollment
A	11	1000-1200
B	23	125-150 (250 last semester)
C	6	40-50
D	several years	25
E	10	50-60
F	5	30
G	15	30-40
H	one semester	14
I	7	20
J	7	15 (number increasing)
K	4	12-15
L	20	10 (not recently given)
M	10	20 (formerly but during last two or three years the enrollment has tripled or quadrupled)
N	3	35
O	7	10
	13	15-25
P	5	8-10
Q	15	1-30 (great variation)
R	one semester	1
S	10	20
T	6	130

#### D. RELATION OF COURSE TO DEGREE REQUIREMENTS AND TYPES OF STUDENTS ENROLLED

THE ENROLLMENT is particularly encouraging because in all cases but two the courses are completely elective. In one college Latin and Greek in Current Use is included among alternatives [science, mathematics, classics (Latin, Greek, or Latin and Greek in Current Use)] of which two must be chosen by candidates for the A.B. degree. The chairman of the classical department of this college once told me that the students considered the course so valuable that the removal of the requirement would not result in a substantial decrease in enrollment (at present 1000-1200). Another college requires the course of majors in home economics, applied arts, and secretarial studies. Although this course is required in only the two instances cited, the course is highly recommended by several departments, among

which are the following: English, French, Spanish (one Spanish department likes the course for all Spanish majors), Latin, business (in one college extremely friendly to the course), science (the course is recommended often to pre-professional students of dentistry, medicine, veterinary science and, in one college, recommended by the head of the sciences to all science majors), speech and writing (which in one college has a special interest in the course). In one college, the course is recommended to "students weak in English" and, in another, to "students who need it." Provision for individual differences is made in the following ways: (1) One college offers two sections (a) for students who have had no Latin and (b) for students with two years of high school Latin; (2) Another college has special laboratory assignments for developing the student's vocabulary in the range of his particular interest; (3) A third college, in the description of the course, after stating that the course deals with the study of word-formation and the contribution of Greek to English words, includes the provision that upon request the course may be adapted to the student's special field of study, with special attention to scientific terms.

The course not only has a wide appeal to a variety of departments but also attracts all types of students. One instructor reported that the course was elected by all types of students from freshmen to graduates (usually taking the course without credit). Another instructor wrote that the course was the most popular elective course in his college. Other replies indicated that the course was elected by the following: (1) freshmen of all types; (2) pre-law; (3) pre-medical; (4) students planning to become teachers; (5) mostly upper classmen; (6) majors in various subjects, especially English and Romance languages; (7) general cross-section; (8) students with no foreign language; (9) undergraduates who have not selected a major; and (10) mostly science majors, especially pre-medical students, but also a scattering of others: majors in music, religion, English, economics, and the like.

This section of the study suggests that an examination of the relation of such courses to the needs of the student body as a whole would be valuable. Since several departments and most students consider the course valuable, educators should consider the desirability of requiring the courses for certain classes of students. Such a requirement is particularly important in the light of certain investigations. Stevenson,<sup>18</sup> Fisher,<sup>19</sup> and Gates,<sup>20</sup> for example, have all expressed their concern as to the "excessive vocabulary demand" in certain college textbooks and the "excessive learning burden" imposed upon the student. Furthermore, the number of English and Romance language majors with little or no knowledge of Greek or Latin is unfortunately increasing. Several possibilities, it seems to me, are open, among which are the following: (1) All college students whose performance on vocabulary tests falls below a specified level should be required to take vocabulary courses of a general nature, the purpose of which should be to raise their vocabulary comprehension to a certain level; (2) All English or Romance language majors with no training in the classical languages should be required to take courses in the classical element in the English language; (3) Scientific students, who, in the judgment of their departments, need remedial work along these lines, should be required to take courses in scientific nomenclature.

#### E. STUDENT OPINION

THE STUDENT OPINION of the course is uniformly very high. This reaction is particularly interesting because the students often regard the course as difficult and, in several instances, must meet the demands of daily or frequent quizzes. One instructor reported that students, in letters on file after graduation, considered the course as the most valuable in the entire college course. Other replies furnished the following statements on student opinion: (1) student opinion very high, course difficult, grades stiff, results practical; (2) some students think that the course proves a helpful tool, others that it is dull, involving much rote learning, and many that this rote learning

itself is beneficial; (3) course is regarded as having high practical value; (4) students regard it as hard but believe that it pays practical dividends when they take science examinations; (5) students praise it highly; (6) one student said that he thought it should be required of every sophomore while he is taking embryology; (7) students taking it or having it recommend it to others as a valuable course culturally and as an aid in saving much "midnight oil" in science courses; (8) students very dubious at beginning but favorable at end; (9) student opinion favorable, often enthusiastic (not regarded as easy and isn't); (10) students enthusiastic—the course should be required of all new students, especially in first two years of college.

#### F. EFFECT ON ENROLLMENT IN GREEK AND LATIN COURSES

THE STUDENTS in studying the composition of the English language become keenly aware of the importance of a knowledge of Greek and Latin for an understanding of the English language. Several instructors reported that many students who took the course as upper classmen lamented the fact that their crowded programs prevented their enrolling in Greek and Latin. In one technical college in which no Greek and Latin were offered, many students expressed the realization of how valuable Greek and Latin would have been to them. Another instructor replied that the chief reaction of the students was to regret that high schools had not required them to take one or both of the classical languages because they felt cheated of something they might have had earlier. Other typical replies to the question of the effect of courses in vocabulary on enrollment in Greek and Latin courses were as follows: (1) small but steady flow into Greek, Latin, and linguistics; (2) approximately ten students elect Greek each year as a result of interest developed in vocabulary building; (3) a number of students are won over to take other course in Classics requiring no knowledge of Greek or Latin; (4) questionable, but not so much a question of interest as of time; (5) students occasionally enroll in classical languages as a result of

vocabulary study; (6) occasionally, but the students are usually juniors or seniors with no time to begin a new language; (7) individual students from time to time show interest in Greek or Latin, but their premedical courses make it impossible for them to pursue such study; (8) some students in Greek or Latin are attracted to the course by their classical studies; (9) some yes's; (10) some no's.

A consideration of these typical replies suggests the advisability of offering courses in word study, especially courses of a general nature, during the first and no later than the second year of college. Such a practice would have the following advantages: (1) Classicists would be contributing to the general education of all students and would be assisting in the attainment of an important objective of general education at a time when such help would be most beneficial to the student; (2) students as upper classmen would be enabled to use and to develop the methods acquired in the first or second year; (3) students in some instances, as a result of the interest created by these courses, would have the time to elect courses in the Greek and Latin language which, in turn, would make a further contribution to their understanding of the English language as well as to their general education.

#### G. TESTING

THE MAJORITY of instructors use frequent testing; in several instances, daily written or oral quizzes. The method of testing is indicated by the following typical replies: (1) little daily quizzes and longer tests at end of six-week periods; (2) daily ten minute quizzes; (3) ten or twelve ten-minute quizzes per semester and final; (4) frequent minor tests and at least two major tests; (5) shorter quizzes, mid-term and final; (6) weekly tests and finals; (7) half-hour bi-weekly quiz; (8) short quizzes every two weeks; longer tests every six weeks and at end of semester; (9) many drill tests; (10) daily oral tests; (11) Johnson O'Connor tests at beginning and end of course, together with term paper; (12) Johnson O'Connor tests at beginning and end, usual quizzes and examinations.

It should be noted that in several instances the O'Connor tests were given at the beginning and at the end of the course. Tests of this type furnish important evidence which can be used in measuring actual growth in vocabulary. This practice should be increased, with the purpose of collecting data needed to convince certain educators of the practical value of such a course. In these days of tests and measurements, the Classicist should not overlook methods regarded with sacrosanctity by curriculum builders.

#### H. TEXTBOOKS AND OTHER TEACHING AIDS

A selected list of the textbooks used in the courses follows:

1. Agard, W. R., *Medical Greek and Latin at a Glance*, second edition revised, P. B. Hoeber, Inc., New York, 1937.
2. Brown, C. B., *Contribution of Greek to English*, Vanderbilt University Press, Nashville, 1942.
3. Burris, E. E. and Casson, L., *Latin and Greek in Current Use*, Prentice-Hall, Inc., New York, 1942.
4. Collins, J. V., *English Words of Latin and Greek Origin*, Worzalla Publishing Co., Wisconsin, 1939.
5. Greenough, J. B. and Kittredge, G. L., *Words and Their Ways in English Speech*, Macmillan, New York, 1931.
6. Hixson, J. C. and Colodny, I., *Word Ways*, American Book Co., New York, 1936, 1942.
7. Lee, I. J., *Language Habits in Human Affairs: An Introduction to General Semantics*, Harper & Bros., New York and London, 1941.
8. Myers, E. D., *Foundations of Language*, Macmillan, New York, 1940.
9. Norwood, J. E., *Concerning Words*, Prentice-Hall, Inc., New York, 1938.
10. Parkhurst, C. C. and Blais, A., *Using Words Effectively*, Harper and Bros., New York, 1948.
11. Wise, J. H., et al. *The Meaning in Reading*, Harcourt, Brace & Co., New York, 1943, 1947.

In addition to the textbooks listed above, several instructors included a dictionary (in

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the case of medical Greek and Latin, a medical dictionary) and collateral reading. In some instances, special work books and other materials which the instructor had prepared in mimeographed form were used in place of textbooks.

### III. CONCLUSION

LATIN AND FRENCH, according to the *Harvard Report*, are valuable in illuminating the syntax and vocabulary of English and for this reason "they should come early rather than late in the curriculum, preferably in the seventh or eighth grade, where it is arguable that they should even be substituted for English."<sup>21</sup> In this connection, one instructor wrote that medical terminology is a remedial course which would be largely unnecessary if Greek and Latin were required in high schools, as formerly, for students of high IQ's who, as a rule, drift into the professions. Since, however, students now come to college with little Latin and less Greek, what is to be done in the colleges with "unilluminated" vocabularies? The enthusiastic testimony of the college teachers of both English and the Classics who furnished the data for this study and the equally enthusiastic response of their students indicate that one solution is to be found in courses on the college level devoted wholly to a systematic and intensive study of vocabulary.

### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> See my article, "The Rôle of the Classicist in Vocabulary Building," *CJ* 37 (1942) 307-310.

<sup>2</sup> See my articles: (1) "The Classicist and Vocabulary at the College Level," *CJ* 40 (1945) 437-444; (2) "English Teaching and the Classics: A Reply to Dr. Keller," *School and Society*, 62 (1945) 190-191; (3) "Some Suggestions for the College Course in Vocabulary," *College English* 8 (1946) 30-33; (4) "The Classics and the Educationists," *Education* 67 (1947) 631-636.

<sup>3</sup> S. Stephenson Smith, *How to Double Your Vocabulary* (T. Y. Crowell Co., New York, 1947) 87. Cf. Myers' estimate that from three hundred and fifty roots appearing in his book about twelve thousand common English words and more than fifty thousand additional technical and semi-technical words are derived. E. D. Myers, *The Foundations of English* (Macmillan, New

York, 1940) xi.

<sup>4</sup> Chapter 6.

<sup>5</sup> F. O. Trigg, *Remedial Reading: The Diagnosis and Correction of Reading Difficulties at the College Level* (University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1943) 126-127.

<sup>6</sup> Departments of English or Classics in the following schools answered my questionnaire: Alabama Polytechnic Institute, Boston University, Brooklyn College, Bucknell University, Butler University, College of Wooster, Cornell College, DePauw University, Howard University, Hunter College, Indiana University, Johns Hopkins University, New York University, Ohio State University, Oregon State College (Corvallis), Stanford University, University of Missouri, University of South Dakota (Vermillion).

<sup>7</sup> *CJ* 40 (1945) 437-438.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. P. A. Wittry and M. Fry, "The Vocabulary Content of Compositions Written by College Students," *Journal of Educational Research* 19 (1929) 135-138.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. E. N. Stevenson, "An Investigation of the Vocabulary Problems in College Biology," *Journal of Educational Psychology* 28 (1937) 663-672.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. M. L. Fisher, "Vocabulary Problems of Students in Educational Psychology," *Educational Research Record* 1 (1928) 19-23; 27-30.

<sup>11</sup> E. J. McGrath et al., *Toward General Education* (Macmillan, New York, 1948) 30-31.

<sup>12</sup> *Higher Education for American Democracy*, volume I. *Establishing the Goals: A Report of the President's Commission on Higher Education* (U. S. Government Printing Office, 1947) 47-58.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 52-53.

<sup>14</sup> D. S. Mead, "Teaching for What?" *School and Society* 67 (1948), 50.

<sup>15</sup> Current English was described as follows in the catalogue:

"The course deals with pronunciation and the analysis of speech sounds . . . ways in which new words are formed and acquired, variation in meaning and intelligent use of dictionaries."

<sup>16</sup> The catalogue description of Living Language was as follows:

"The aims of this course are: (1) to show how words in common use indicate past customs and ideologies, particularly with reference to superstitions, religion, etc.; (2) to present methods for linguistic analysis and vocabulary building."

<sup>17</sup> For a discussion of some of the reasons for this recent need, see my *CJ* article, 40 (1945), 438-439 and the literature cited, especially the article by Smith and Eaton.

<sup>18</sup> E. N. Stevenson, *loc. cit.*, 663-672.

<sup>19</sup> M. L. Fisher, *loc. cit.*, 19-23, 27-30.

<sup>20</sup> A. I. Gates, et al., *Educational Psychology* (Macmillan, New York, 1942), 431.

<sup>21</sup> *General Education in a Free Society* (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1945), 124.

## "NEW AREAS IN THE HUMANITIES"

COLLEGE COURSES in the humanities were stressed as the central topic of discussion last April 30-May 1 at the fifth annual classical conference sponsored by Cornell College, Mt. Vernon, Iowa, and directed by Mark E. Hutchinson.

At the first formal session, Friday evening, Professor Norman J. DeWitt argued that present-day attitudes towards classical scholarship and the teaching of the Classics are largely inherited from the nineteenth century, and that both research scholarship and the popular approach to the Classics involve the concept of a fixed or absolute "truth" to be attained or "pursued," on the one hand, by research methods, and on the other by appreciating or feeling aesthetically. It was the speaker's contention that these attitudes and their related concepts are no longer valid in the twentieth century; and that while new attitudes must be evolved, much is to be learned from the earlier strength of the Classics as the source of ideas related to action and not the object of contemplation alone. He added that the romantic approach to the Classics lacks the imperatives that successful education must have, and suggested that in the professional courses and schools only does one find the "musts" which are signally lacking in general education.

On the same Friday evening program, Dr. George Karo of the University of Iowa gave an illustrated lecture on art forgeries in his characteristically polished style, leaving no doubt as to the material and the lesson he intended to convey.

In the Saturday morning panel on "The Classics and the Course in Humanities," various methods and objectives were presented. President Nathan M. Pusey of Lawrence College acted as chairman, and described the semi-tutorial method followed by his faculty involving integration and cross-fertilization and the breaking down of inter-field barriers through a semi-tutorial system. President Byron S. Hollinshead of Coe College discussed the aims of a general course in the humanities. John W. Clark of the University of Minnesota described his experiences in teaching a humanities course in a non-selective general college. Arthur W. Moehlman of the University of Iowa presented the socio-cultural approach to the Classics rather than the individualized approach;

and Paul MacKendrick of the University of Wisconsin described the ideal humanities course according to his philosophy of education. The last speaker, Norman J. DeWitt, complained that his paper had already been given by the preceding members of the panel, and confined himself to general remarks. All speakers agreed on the necessity of classical materials in a sound program of general education.

Two of the papers given at the conference may be read in *THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL*: Professor Frank M. Snowden's paper on "Courses in Vocabulary" appears in this issue (page 43); and Professor D. Herbert Abel's "The Radio Returns to Dionysus" is scheduled for November.

The Saturday afternoon program was devoted to secondary-school problems in teaching foreign languages.

From a background of long experience in testing attainment in other subjects than Latin, Professor E. F. Lindquist of the University of Iowa proposed the doctrine that methods which have proved successful with other languages, particularly English, ought to be valid or subject to suitable adaptation for Latin. Assuming that the degree of attainment to be tested in most Latin classes would correspond to primary classes in English reading, he submitted samples of objective-type tests designed for such English classes. These consisted of passages of graded difficulty to be read by the student, and questions of comparable difficulty, by answering which the student could register his comprehension of the reading. It was Professor Lindquist's proposal that these tests might be imitated, reading passages, questions, and required answers all in Latin.

This proposal did not go long unchallenged, nor did it entirely lack defenders. The chief objection was that, as the very reading of a Latin passage taxes students' capacity to the limit, the additional requirement of understanding questions posed in Latin would result in undue discouragement, while any hope of receiving satisfactory answers written in Latin would be doomed to dismal failure. More moderate reactions, while conceding that such questions and answers might be feasible, still maintained that the effort concentrated on producing the answers would be so great as to outweigh emphasis on the reading of the passage and thus could not accurately indicate the valuable attainment of reading ability. It was further objected that the inherent limitations of this method excluded numerous valid objectives

# LANX SATURA

Quidquid agunt homines,  
votum timor ira voluptas  
gaudia discursus, nostri  
farrago libelli est.

## Again the Child

**W**E WERE CHEERED immensely, hard on the Kalends of July, by a report on a national political convention by the eminent novelist and reporter, Rebecca West. She had never seen, she said, so many horrible young people. She then remarked unpleasantly upon the sentimentalization of youth, pointing out that there can be horrible young people just as well as horrible middle-aged people and horrible old people. Since we have made unfavorable comments ourselves in these columns upon The Child, we were delighted to find that Miss West goes along with us in this matter.

We were cheered, too, because ever since our own college days we have been convinced that Youth is a fraud. While Youth really came into its own and developed into a profession or calling after we graduated, even in our own time some of our fellow students were busy being Youth in terms of sort of a class-struggle against, we presume, Age. What occurred to us at age nineteen still seems to be true: the professional Youth is not young at all; the main trouble with him is that he is prematurely aged. Nor have we ever been able to determine precisely at what age one ceases to be Youth; certainly there ought to be a limit, for the sake of propriety. For surely there is no more improper spectacle than that of Age trying to be Youth. And of course, the weak point of the whole Youth movement in terms of a class-struggle is this: the laws of heredity give us no comfort whatever in supposing that Youth will do any better than, or even as well as Age, when its own turn inexorably comes.

THE DEPARTMENT of Classics, along with other senior divisions of education whose materials tend to be a little tough, has suf-

fered much from the sentimentalized concept. In stricter terms, this concept is of the sociological persuasion, wherein the individual is relieved of responsibility for his acts, whereas the classical or rationalistic point of view, which is implicit in criminal law, holds that the individual, as a rational being, knows what he is doing; and if what he is doing is bad, he knows also that he shouldn't be doing it. On the other hand, the sociological concept tends to suggest, for example, that if an individual participates in a bank holdup attended by the demise of a cashier and two policemen, the blame is to be placed upon his pre-school environment.

Now, of course, there is manifestly much truth in this concept. In terms of education, if Junior turns out to be a holy terror at school, sasses the teachers, trips up the little girls at the head of the stairs, blows bubble gum in Civic Responsibility class, and releases hop-toads and other amphibia in study period, any sensible teacher or supervisor knows that Junior's home life is worth looking into, certainly as a matter of general interest if not for purely professional reasons. Such investigation will undoubtedly tell us a great deal about why Junior is a brat; but we are not convinced that it absolves Junior from responsibility for his acts or that it excuses him from the normal obligations of polite school society. For while the rationalistic or classical approach to the responsibility of the individual is a fiction, if you will, the fiction is an essential one that society cannot afford to abandon. Thus the sociological view of Junior does not necessarily provide Junior with an excuse for not being assisted, persuaded, or required, to learn the formal lessons that constitute education as the interests and welfare of society demand. (That is to say, there are *times* when Junior needs, and should get, a good whack on the seat of his little britches.)

Not that we object to the sociological concept in its proper place and application; what we do object to is the sentimentalization. There are, for example, grave dangers in letting certain types of persons out of jail, even if their larcenous or homicidal tendencies can be attributed reasonably to an unhappy home or a feeling of insecurity. Similarly, the sociological concept of The Child, if sentimentalized, may go to absurd and dangerous lengths. We may be asked to believe that there are no holy terrors (only socially maladjusted) and no dumb children (merely intellectually underprivileged). There is more to this than an adjustment of language; it involves also the abandonment of an essential basic premise.

SOME DAY WE should like to see a serious study of the ancestry of The Child as a concept in American education, not as a theoretical study, for the history of educational thought can do that for us, but rather as a study in mores and folkways. The Child, of course, is one of the many romanticized concepts that the American public has created for itself, like Mom and Dad and the Hollywood theory that drama ends, not begins, with betrothal. But what we have in mind is even more scholarly than this; we are thinking rather of the literary ancestry of the concept.

The concept of The Child has been accompanied, of course, by the concept of The School; and possibly our study should begin with The School as portrayed in literature, from Horace to Dickens, Mark Twain, and Booth Tarkington. Horace, Nicholas, Tom, and Penrod had a pretty bad time of it, one infers. But at the same time one wonders how faithful a representation literature can give us. Creative writers are not objective reporters; the normal is not ordinarily the subject of literature. And writers are not, by and large, noted for their social balance; they are likely to be a little maladjusted themselves.

But the main idea we have in mind is that somebody should write a high-class Ph.D. thesis on The Child; and if any likely candi-

date in English should care to drop around to the office some afternoon, we would be glad to take him (or even better, her) out for a coke and indicate the main directions and act as co-adviser. This is how the idea came to us: in the course of our reading on The Child in literature *ex partibus infidelium*, we have found ourselves vaguely troubled, haunted by a persistent feeling that we had met the little cuss somewhere before. And then it gradually came to us: The Child himself was a stranger to us, but we knew who his parents were. He was conceived in the neo-romanticism of the late Victorian and Edwardian period; and he is the offspring of Little Lord Fauntleroy and Elsie Dinsmore—and, we are compelled to add, born out of wedlock.

### “Terrible Words”

WE ARE PRIVILEGED to present in this issue, the first of a new volume, an address on Horace by a distinguished British public servant and administrator, to whom our thanks are due for permission to print his remarks. For their generous offices in helping us to secure this welcome contribution to our pages, the editors extend their warm appreciation to Mr. Moncure Biddle of Philadelphia and Mr. W. V. Cooper of London, Honorary Secretary of the Horatian Society. To Mr. Cooper thanks are also due for his offices in persuading Mr. L. S. Amery to write a special introduction to Lord Soulbury's address for us.

Naturally we are grateful also to Mr. Amery for his attention to this matter. Mr. Amery's own career, as well as that of Lord Soulbury, gives ample evidence of the British tradition that there is no reason why persons who engage in politics should not be thoroughly educated men, and that if they happen also to be persons of culture, they need make no attempt to conceal the fact or otherwise deceive the public. Would it were thus with us.

While Mr. Amery has performed many distinguished services which are favorably known to his countrymen, he will perhaps be remembered best by American readers for

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his use of a crushing historical allusion in the final crisis faced by the Chamberlain government when the survival of Churchill's "island race" was in the balance. On May 7, 1940, Mr. Amery rose from his position behind the Government benches, and to his own Prime Minister, party leader, friend and colleague, of many years, quoted Cromwell's grim words to the Long Parliament: "You have sat too long here for any good you have been doing. Depart, I say, and let us have done with you. In the name of God, go!"

As Mr. Churchill has remarked, these were terrible words.

### On the Outside

THIS MONTH, as custom is, we present our readers with a new color combination and a modification of design for the cover of our magazine. Since we have had notable assistance from a nameless fifth-century craftsman, we can without immodesty claim that our cover is, in its way, a work of art. On the seven covers to follow in volume-year 44, we propose to present seven more designs based on ancient art in miniature. We feel that, in addition to being worth looking at, these covers will be nice to have around.

We gratefully acknowledge here the help of Professor Thomas S. Duncan, a numismatist of talent, in selecting the coin designs adopted for this month's cover; and we are happy to add that Professor George E. Mylonas, a distinguished archaeologist, has undertaken to select designs for future issues.

### THIS AND THAT

THE SHORTAGE of Latin teachers appears to be getting worse rather than better. We note in the University of Michigan's valuable *Classical Courier* that one teacher-training institution in the state received forty-four calls for Latin teachers, and was able to furnish only three applicants.

The present situation needs to be brought to the attention of high-school and college advisors who have been over-busy in warning students away from prospective teaching careers in Latin. The secondary-school situation is paralleled on

the college level; in addition to the standard language program, the new development of courses in translation in integrated liberal arts curricula is placing heavy demands upon many college departments.

IN ADDITION to an honorary dinner on the occasion of her retirement (reported in *CJ* last April), we learn that Miss Edna White, long prominent in classical circles, both in the American Classical League and in New Jersey and the New York area, was given an honorary LL.D. last spring by her Alma Mater, the University of New Brunswick (Canada). So far as we know (and our informant is Miss Shirley Smith), Miss White is the second high-school teacher of Latin on the continent to be honored in this way, the other being Miss Jean Ingersoll of Denver (in 1935).

Also as a tribute to an inspired colleague, the spring meeting of the Classical Association of New Jersey was dedicated to Miss White last May.

A SPECIAL SCHOLARSHIP for study at the 1948 summer session of the American Academy in Rome was awarded to Miss Elizabeth C. Bridge of Cambridge, Massachusetts, a teacher of Latin at the Winsor School in Boston, by the Classical Association of New England. The Association is currently raising funds to provide a similar scholarship every summer for a secondary-school teacher in New England.

This valuable undertaking toward the strengthening of high-school Latin as a whole is paralleled by a similar scholarship project in the Middle West and South, where Miss Edith M. A. Kovach of Detroit received the award for the summer of 1948.

WE HAVE COME through the summer with quite an accumulation of notices of classical dramas put on either in the original or in translation. One suspects that the success of Anouilh's *Antigone*, Laurence Olivier's *Oedipus*, and Judith Anderson's *Medea* is stimulating interest in this area.

We note in passing that Randolph-Macon again presented its annual play in the *original Greek* last May; this time, the *Bacchae* of Euripides. (We understand that Greek is regarded as a language at Randolph-Macon and that students learn large chunks of it by heart, altogether apart from the exigencies of the annual drama.)

Back in April the Latin Players of Brooks School in North Andover, Mass., presented scenes from the *Mostellaria* ("Haunted House") of Plautus in Latin. (There is one scene in particular that is a "natural" for high-school students; not hard, either.) We were startled to see in the announcement of this that the scenes would be given in the original Latin metres. Eugepea! And Miss Elisabeth V. Freeman informs us that the students of Margaret Hall school in Versailles, Tennessee, put on Euripides' *Iphigenia Among the Taurians*, using the Gilbert Murray translation. Miss Freeman quite justifiably comments that this "was really pretty good for a high school."

Again on the college level, Professor David Moore Robinson (currently at the University of Mississippi) tells us that the Johns Hopkins Playshop put on Sophocles' *Electra* last April at the Baltimore Museum of Art with, needless to say, a number of Dr. Robinson's students participating. And Miss Virginia Markham sends us a program of an old college drama favorite, Euripides' *Trojan Women*, presented by the Curtain Players of Flora Stone Mather College of Western Reserve University, in Cleveland.

WE NOTE WITH INTEREST that the faculty of the University of Kentucky has approved a regulation which will allow a student who had one or two units of a foreign language in high school to start the same language all over again on the college level without loss of credit.

This means, in effect, that one of the major handicaps of the college Department of Latin is removed. Again and again a likely student takes two years of Latin in high school, rusts for two years, and feels that he cannot face the competition of second-year college students who are fresh from their beginning work on the first-year level. Faced with this difficult situation, the entering college student usually begins another language.

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL NEWSLETTER of June 7, 1948 carries an account of interesting finds of ancient manuscripts in Palestine. The Syrian Orthodox Convent in Jerusalem has obtained four vellum scrolls, found by Beduin smugglers in a cave near the Dead Sea, and has made them available for study and publication to the American School of Oriental Research. The three manuscripts opened at the time of reporting were Hebrew texts of the scriptures and commentaries and rituals, thought to be perhaps a thousand years older

than the earliest previously known manuscripts of the Old Testament in Hebrew.

THE MAY MEETING of the Classical Club of Greater Cleveland (a vigorous organization) featured an after-dinner address by Judge Robert N. Wilkin, author of the Macmillan book, *The Eternal Lawyer*. Regardless of the professional scholar's opinion of Judge Wilkin's work, the conjointure of the bar and the Classics is a hopeful sign, reminiscent of the state of things before the defection of Latin and Greek teaching in the direction of pure belles-lettres.

THE EDITORS are in receipt of an interesting letter from Dr. Friedrich Wotke, 33 Mommengasse, Vienna, Austria, who is editor of a useful classroom periodical, *Litterae Latinae*. We had sent him some copies of *CJ* so that he might see how things were going in this country, and he writes:

"From various sources . . . I know that the school system and the conditions of school life differ very much. The more interesting it is to compare things and to discuss problems that we have in common, the promotion of classical studies.

"You write about the shortage of teachers. We have more than are wanted, as the number of lessons is smaller than it used to be. And for the classical languages we have comparatively more teachers than for the other subjects, as, according to statistics, the 'Altphilologen' were safer against the temptations of Nazism. So fewer had to be dismissed."

We note, in passing, that Dr. Wotke's *Litterae Latinae* devotes much space to Latin dialogue, quoting liberally from Terence. We hope to find out more about this from Dr. Wotke.

"WHY PICK ON CICERO?" reasonably asks our esteemed colleague Mr. P. J. Downing of the Browning School, New York City, in his column on the Classics in the *Independent School Bulletin* for May, 1948.

Provoked by facile characterizations of Cicero as vain and pompous (which he was), Dr. Downing argues pretty thoroughly the case that there was a good deal more to the Arpinate than mere vanity. And it might be added that Cicero was in a pretty tough spot personally during almost the entire period of his literary activity; he was not afraid to talk back.

# NOTES

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Contributions to this department in the form of brief objective notes should be sent direct to the editor, Oscar E. Nybakken, State University of Iowa, 111 Schaeffer Hall, Iowa City, Iowa.

## AUGUSTUS COMPARES HORACE TO A SEXTARIOLUS

**I**N HIS *De Poetis* Suetonius quotes the following brief but pointed acknowledgment that Augustus wrote to Horace on receipt of a little book of poems:

Pertulit ad me Onysius libellum tuum, quem ego ut excusantem, quantuluscumque est, boni consulo. Vereri autem mihi videris ne maiores libelli tui sint quam ipse es; sed tibi statura deest, corporuscum non deest. Itaque licebit in sextariolo scribas, ut circuitus voluminis tui sit onkodestatos,<sup>1</sup> sicut est ventriculi tui.<sup>2</sup>

Ostensibly Augustus is chiefly concerned about increasing Horace's literary output, but almost everything he says is a build-up for the witticism at the end. Today we are surfeited with jests on fatness and "corporations," and hence Augustus' humor may not at first glance seem to us to be especially clever. To me his sally is far more interesting as a study in phrasing, and I believe that the diminutives and the use of the Greek word *onkodestatos* made his jest far more effective to a cultivated Roman than a translation of it could possibly be to us.

Though the use of diminutives by an author may sometimes be a mere matter of style, it is easily possible to attach special significance to those employed by Augustus. The word *quantuluscumque* shows Augustus' disappointment at the meagerness of Horace's writings, and the idea is continued in *libelli*, "booklets," which conveys a mild rebuke to Horace for being content to write *libelli* when he might be writing *libri*. Since Horace describes himself as *corporis exigui* (*Epist. 1.20.24*) and since Suetonius speaks of him as *brevis atque obesus*, the word *corpusculum* has its normal force. Although *sextarius* is a small measure, Augustus uses a word denoting one still more diminutive—*sextari-*

*olus*. In spite of its smallness he suggests (doubtless ironically) that by writing on it Horace could make the body of his works assume the proportions of his own body.<sup>3</sup> In the final clause, which contains the diminutive *ventriculum*, "dear little paunch,"<sup>4</sup> we see the culmination of a protest against Horace's failure to make greater use of his poetic gifts. This final diminutive is not so opprobrious, however, as *ventre projecto*, which Suetonius (*Nero 51*) applies to Nero, or so stinging as *pinguis aqualiculus protenso sesquipedale* (*Persius 1.57*), which some editors have thought may likewise refer to Nero.

There was doubtless some special reason for Augustus' use of a Greek word in this connection.<sup>5</sup> The *sextariolus* had a *circutus*, and so did the scroll, the form in which ancient books were published. As applied to a container or a book, *onkodestatos*, "very round," "very swollen," would be entirely natural, but when describing a person it would mean "fat," and perhaps it would suggest "puffed up," a secondary meaning. In that case such indirection would be more effective than outspokenness or bluntness.

Since the point of a jest is reserved for the end, the climax of the witticism must be the last four words, *sicut est ventriculi tui*, but I make no pretense of having grasped the full meaning of Augustus' message to Horace. My primary purpose in writing this note is to give several modern examples of names of containers of liquids used to describe persons, generally stout ones. Since the comparison of the body of Horace's works to his own body is in point only when the poems are supposed to be written on a *sextariolus*, Augustus is virtually comparing the vessel itself with Horace's *ventriculum*.

In this connection one immediately thinks of the inelegant adjectives "potbellied" and "barrel-bellied" and of the somewhat less offensive noun "tub," which likewise may denote corpulence, but the literary uses of similar words are far more interesting. In *I King Henry IV*, Act II, Scene 4, the Prince of Wales says to Falstaff: "There is a devil haunts thee in the likeness of an old fat man; a tun of man is thy companion."

A comparison that is still more elaborate and specific may be found in one of Scott's novels, *The Fortunes of Nigel*, Chapter xxiii: ". . . and both the folding leaves of the door were opened, that he might roll himself into the house like a huge butt of liquor, a vessel to which he bore a considerable outward resemblance, both in size, shape, complexion, and contents."

A recent book by Carlo Levi, *Christ Stopped at Eboli* (1946), p. 105, describes a servant as having "a waist as slender as that of an amphora."

In one of the Grimm Brothers' Märchen, "König Drosselbart," a king's daughter rejects a suitor as too corpulent and refers to him as a wine cask (*Weinfass*). A far different kind of comparison is seen in another of these stories, "Das Eselein": "Donkey, what's the matter with you? You look as sour as a jug of vinegar" (*Essigkrug*).

The designations of small units of liquid measure are sometimes applied to persons. One of my teachers, Professor W. B. McDaniel, has called my attention to an excellent example in *Time*, August 11, 1947, p. 22:

"pint-sized proprietor of a Chicago vegetarian restaurant." On the sports pages of newspapers "pint-sized" is not infrequently used of athletes. In a novel by Ben Ames Williams, *House Divided*, p. 241, a Negro slave is said to be "no bigger than a pint of cider." A still smaller unit of measure appears in "half-pint," which students on a certain campus prefixed to the name of a professor.

Perhaps in antiquity, too, persons were frequently compared to containers for liquids. The words of Augustus were doubtless preserved because they were regarded as especially clever and because they were addressed to a celebrated personage.

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University of Michigan

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> I have transliterated the Greek word.

<sup>2</sup> J. C. Rolfe's edition, Volume II, p. 488, in the Loeb Classical Library; page 298 in the C. L. Roth edition.

<sup>3</sup> Maurice Baring used to clip poems (and parts of poems) from volumes and paste them in blank books that he gave to his friends. T. E. Lawrence speaks thus of one that he received: "A gorgeous little thing: Little! it's as fat as Chesterton and Belloc combined, and ever so much riper inside than the best Stilton." Quoted by Sir Ronald Storrs in *The Atlantic Monthly* 180 (Oct., 1947), 113.

<sup>4</sup> Two Homeric passages showing contempt for a greedy stomach are *Odyssey* 17.228 and 18.364. Strabo 4.4.6 tells us that the Celts endeavored not to grow fat and that punishment was meted out to any young man who exceeded a certain girth.

<sup>5</sup> Evidently there was far more point in Augustus' use of this word than there is in our use of the French word *embonpoint*.

#### REPETITION, IRRITATION AND ADVERTISING

IT is soon apparent to even the casual listener that modern radio advertising depends largely on repetition and resultant irritation. Key sentences in the "plug" are usually read at least twice; the identifying slogan and the trade name recur endlessly throughout the program. Evan Llewellyn Evans, the Beautee Soap (Love That Soap!) tycoon, emerges as the spokesman for this new philosophy of selling.<sup>1</sup>

Two things make good advertising. One, a good simple idea. Two, repetition. And by repetition . . . I mean until the public is so irritated with it, they'll buy your brand because they bloody well can't forget it.

Under this "new" philosophy, at least two prominent men of ancient times qualify as successful advertising directors.

Marcus Cato, the implacable enemy of Carthage, "reinforcing a weak argument with

obstinate reiteration, wound up every speech in the Senate with the monotonous refrain that Carthage must be destroyed. Under the weight of this mass attack the senate capitulated to Cato.<sup>12</sup> *Carthago delenda est*, then, compares favorably in effectiveness with "Love That Soap!" Even the motivation is identical; Cary suggests that Cato "may have been influenced by hopes of economic advantage,"<sup>13</sup> the manifest aim of all advertising.

Darius, the king of Persia before Marathon, carried through a successful reflexive advertising campaign. Fearing that he might forget his vow of vengeance on the Athenians for their effrontery in aiding the Ionian revolt, Darius ordered a servant, "every day, when his dinner was spread, three times to repeat these words to him, 'Master, remember the Athenians.'"<sup>14</sup>

Only in length of time required for final success does the program of Darius fail to meet modern standards. The servant began his task in 497 B.C., and it was not until 490,

seven thousand repetitions later, that Darius, "exhorted" by his servant to remember the Athenians,<sup>15</sup> finally dispatched his troops against Greece. What must be a record for cumulative irritation, spoiled meals, and delayed action was thus established.

Darius to Cato to Evans: "Love That Soap!" has a distinguished ancestry.

EDWARD C. ECHOLS

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#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Frederic Wakeman, *The Hucksters* (New York, Rinehart & Co., 1946) 24.

<sup>2</sup> M. Cary, *A History of Rome* (London, Macmillan and Co., 1938) 191.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> Herod. 5.105; Rawlinson's translation.

<sup>5</sup> Herodotus uses the somewhat colorless *'αναμνησθοντος*, "to remind." It may be significant to interpretation that Moss, in his simplified version of the Marathon adapted from Herodotus, (G. M. Moss, *A First Greek Reader* [Allyn and Bacon, 1945]) replaces *'αναμνησθοντος* with *ταροξυθεις*, "to exasperate."

<sup>6</sup> Herod. 6.94; Rawlinson's translation.

## BIBLIOPHILE AND BARBARIAN IN ANCIENT ROME

MRS. RATHBUN's interesting study of "Books, Bibliophiles, and Barbarians" (*THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL* 43 [1948] 293-296) closes with the hope that "bibliophiles may yet inherit the earth." Echoing that goodly hope, we must yet remember that personal barbarism in the matter of books is no more a mediaeval or a modern development than official book-burning is. The current philistinism that reaps so much profit for publishers of books in meretriciously "fine bindings," as distinguished from the really fine volumes that issue from a gratifying number of good presses, had its antecedents in the early Roman Empire. In one of Statius' poems (*Silvae* 4.9), the poet impersonates one of these Roman Babbitts, who looked only to the binding and "state" of a gift-book, and not to the value of its contents:

It's certainly a joke, the little book  
You sent me, Grypus, in return for mine.

Yet it may seem a courtly jest indeed,  
If you but send another gift to boot.  
But if you stubbornly keep up the game,  
Then it's no joke at all. Let's reckon up:  
Mine was of scarlet-painted virgin parchment,  
Neatly rolled up upon its rollers twain,  
And cost my purse a pretty penny, too.  
Yours, gnawed by worms and moulderling in decay,  
A wrapping fit for dripping Libyan olives,  
Or incense from the Nile, or eastern spice,  
Or even squirming lizards from Byzance.  
And what its contents? Not your own great word  
Thundered in all three forums in your youth.  
Or gravely uttered in the courts, before  
Germanicus subjected to your will  
The grain supply and the imperial post—  
Not these, forsooth, but aged Brutus' mumblings,  
Bought from a starveling dealer's ten-cent  
shelf. . . .

Who was Grypus? What real lover of books would not rather have had Brutus' ideas, whatever the external condition of their recording?

Martial suggested another criterion of the value of a book, equally alien to reputable standards, when he described the fate of hapless volumes that were not prosperously launched by dedication to a well-known patron (*Epigram 3.2*):

Whose gift would you fain be, my little book?

Make haste, procure a guardian at once,  
Lest you be snatched off to the cook's foul den,  
Wrapping sardines up in your sodden sheets,  
Or twisted up to hold incense or spice. . . .

EVA MATTHEWS SANFORD  
Sweet Briar College

## EPICURUS: HIS PERPENDICULAR UNIVERSE

THE STUDENT who would apprehend correctly the weird notions entertained by the ancient Greeks on the subject of motion must take care to preserve an open mind and above all things to forget gravitation.

He will find Aristotle, for example, thinking of a snug and finite little universe in which fire rose to the top and earthly matter settled to the bottom. Moreover, the fact that fire rose to the top seemed to him no more natural than the fact that it came to rest at the top. So also with earthly matter: it was no less in the nature of the thing to rest at the bottom than to sink to the bottom. With these seemingly manifest truths as a starting point he concluded that the universe cannot be infinite, because, if infinite, it would possess no top where fire might come to rest and no bottom where earthly matter might find repose. His reasoning was sound; only his premises were false.

Epicurus, on the contrary, taking as his major premise the doctrine of the infinitude of the universe rather than observed facts, deduced the doctrine of the infinitude of worlds. A world was described by him as a delimited portion of the universe containing an earth, celestial bodies and other standard equipment.

He also held to the belief that the primary motion of all matter is downward owing to weight. While this principle occasions mental cramps to metaphysicians, it is meaningless to the atoms themselves, because, owing to their interminable collisions, they fly every which way through space. Moreover, there is no such thing as right side up nor upside down to an atom. Atoms are not subject to dizziness. In the case of *homo sapiens* it is very different, since he will soon lose sapience

if landing repeatedly on his ear. Neither is he a lizard to feel at home on a vertical earth nor yet a sidehill hodog to go scooting negligently over a tilted plain. He feels at home only on a horizontal floor with his major axis rising at right angles to the same.

On a Newtonian earth such as ours, of course, could we only observe it from the outside, human beings would be seen standing out all over it with their major axes at right angles to tangential lines, like quills on a conglobated porcupine. In the perpendicular universe of Epicurus it would be quite otherwise, because, instead of lines of force converging to terrestrial centers, we discern only solid bodies falling straight downward owing to weight, now hitting, now missing the horizontal earths. In such a universe we can imagine human beings only as standing upright, like candles on birthday cakes.

The birthday cake really serves to give us a suitable image of an Epicurean earth, though, of course, the said earth may be part of a spherical world. With the worlds, however, we are not concerned for the moment. The pressing question is the meaning of 'up' and 'down' in a perpendicular infinite universe where, at suitable intervals, innumerable horizontal earths float in planes all parallel with one another. Let us select an earth at random and call it A. Above it is a second earth, which we shall call B. Now, to the observer standing on A the space above him extending to B is 'up' while the same space to the observer standing on B. is 'down.' A similar statement will hold true for the spaces intervening between any two of the innumerable other earths. These are all relative 'ups' and 'downs.'

Let us now seek the absolute 'ups' and 'downs.' We shall attain this objective by imagining a body coming down out of infinite space into infinite space past all the intervening horizontal earths. In the words of Epicurus himself "it will arrive ten thousand times at the heads of those below." Conversely, a body moving straight upward "will arrive ten thousand times at the feet of those above." These are the absolute 'ups' and absolute 'downs.' The two motions, irrespective of observers, will be eternally opposed, the one to the other.

This is a perfectly logical reply on the part of Epicurus to the criticism that 'up' and 'down' can have no meaning in an infinite universe. "Quite true," he says in effect, "but in my perpendicular infinite universe with its infinity of horizontal worlds the words 'up'

and 'down' possess both relative and absolute meanings."

The one extant statement of Epicurus on this topic (*Diogenes Laertius* 10.60) may be expanded as above. It is correctly rendered by R. D. Hicks in the Loeb version, although it is doubtful whether the implications are rightly apprehended. Cyril Bailey was not convinced by Hicks and suggested an emendation in order to introduce true antipodes, an impossibility in a perpendicular universe. References to other pertinent discussions are cited by him (*Epicurus, ad loc.*, and *Greek Atomists*, pp. 311-313) but Hicks, helped out by a little reflection, is the best guide. Gravitation must be forgotten. It is our superior knowledge that makes Epicurus seem obscure. We know too much.

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#### "NEW AREAS IN THE HUMANITIES"

*Continued from page 50*

of a testing program, such as grammar, syntax, scansion, background materials, interpretation, not to mention translation. On the other hand, the defense of the plan pointed out that if the teaching of a language is to be functional it should make the language available for such basic functions as simple questions and answers; that such a practice might tend to combat the undesirable impression of Latin as an "impractical" language, suitable only for study and translation.

The topic "Teaching Cultural Objectives" produced interesting accounts of many projects employed in connection with the teaching of languages which aim at fitting the respective languages into their proper cultural frame. The importance of these procedures has long been recognized by Latin teachers; and Roman banquets, costumes, customs, Latin songs, model camps, posters, and soap carving are an old story. Here participation by modern language teachers injected some new emphases into the discussion. It was a teacher of French, Professor Le Vois, State University of Iowa, who directed the thought of the group toward more careful consideration of the word "cultural," with the suggestion that perhaps some of the material traditionally used under this head has little cultural value. In the present-day crowded curriculum,

in which languages have to defend their claim to any of the students' valuable time, there is no room for diverting exercises which do not contribute directly to important objectives. Therefore the teacher ought to reconsider the culture in question, decide thoughtfully what its valid and essential features are, and seek the surest ways of presenting these features with their just and useful interpretation.

"What Should Be the Content of Our Latin Courses?" This question was discussed in the framework of an analysis, by Professor Else, of various objectives and criteria that have been applied to Latin study in successive periods of history. Judicious selection and modified application of these values was seen as one approach to answering the question. The proposal of the Committee on Educational Policies, to establish *Vergil* as the content of the second year of high-school Latin, makes use of this approach. At the same time it poses the problem of choice of material on which to base the graded readings of the first-year program. From the cultural point of view, a wide variety of Latin authors is available. However considerable doubt was expressed whether standard authors could be adapted to the reading ability of beginners without losing, in the process, the qualities which recommended their selection.

# THE TEACHER'S SCRAPBOOK

## LATIN IN ROMANCE LANGUAGE CLASSES

AS A FORMER Latin instructor now engaged in teaching Romance languages, I was especially interested in Miss Fanny-belle Kiser's short article in the March, 1948, issue of *THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL* in which groups of sentences in French, Italian, and Spanish were given for translation by first-year Latin classes. In the Spanish group, is was given as the etymon of both *este* (this) and *ese* (that). Actually *este* is derived from *iste* and *ese* from *ipse*,<sup>1</sup> the change in connotation from "that near you" which *iste* had in classical Latin to "this near me" in modern Spanish is one of those philological quirks that make language study so interesting and, in this case, makes one wonder whether the fates are laughing at our reverence for individuality.

Since in old Spanish (in the *Poema del Mio Cid*, for example) the forms *aqueste* and *aquese* often occur, it seems reasonable to suppose that *ecce* preceded *iste* or *ipse*, just as it did in the form *aquel* (that yonder) which is derived from *ecce illum*, or, as the vulgar Latin had it, *ecillum*. The etymon of *ecistum* for *este* is all the more logical when one considers that it formed the basis for *cet* in French (OFr. *cest*) and *questo* in Italian. Such forms as *ecca*, *ecum*, *ecillum*, and *ecistum* are found in Plautus, Terence, C. Asinius Pollio and other Latin authors.<sup>2</sup>

While we are on the subject of the use of Romance languages in Latin class, may I say a word for the use of Latin in French and Spanish. (I don't teach Italian or I would add that.) I have found it of considerable value to have my students keep vocabulary notebooks in which they list the word in the language that they are studying on the left of the page, the English translation in the middle, and on the right the Latin etymon or a

cognate in any other language that they know. A sample Spanish student's notebook page of nouns, therefore, might look like this:

Spanish	Meaning	Cognates
la escuela	the school	sc̄.ola (Latin) l'ecole (French)
		school
		scholar
		scholastic
el esp̄itu	the spirit	spiritus (Latin) l'esprit (Frer.ch)
		spirit
		spiritual
		spirited
el hijo	the son	filius (Latin) le fils (French)
		filial—pertaining to a son or daughter
el libro	the book	liber (Latin) le livre (French)
		library
		librarian

Naturally, the students who do not know another language can list only English cognates, but even such pupils are much impressed by the long lists of cognates made by the pupils that can roam farther afield in their search. Often they express the feeling that perhaps it would have been good to have studied a little Latin!

After a certain amount of notebook work of this kind the students begin to notice certain philological principles at work, so that they are able to point out of their own accord that *hacer* must come from *facere* because *f* changed to *h* in Spanish at the beginning of a word, or that *l̄grima* and *lacrima* are simply the same word with interchanged palatals. They are also interested in the prosthetic *e* illustrated in the sample notebook page above in *esp̄itu* and *escuela*, and easily see the connection between *studium* and *estudio* or *étude*, *scutum* and *escudo* or *ēcu*,

spina and *espina* or *épine*, *sperare* and *esperar* or *espérer*. One could go on ad infinitum. If the Romance language teacher has enough of a Latin background and some elementary knowledge, at least, of philology, and if he will spend a short time explaining such principles to students, much time will be saved that would otherwise be spent in thumbing through vocabularies in search of words whose meanings may be thus worked out by intelligent reasoning.

I find, too, that my Romance students are fascinated by the origin in mythology of the days of the week and months of the year, and that a knowledge of this serves as a mnemonic device as well. First we recall that in Latin *dies* meant day and show that the *di* was incorporated into French while the Spanish preserved the Latin genitive ending *-is* in the form *-es* (lunes and miércoles adding their un-Latin *-es* ending probably by analogy). Into the vocabulary notebook is incorporated a table similar to the following:

Spanish	French	Latin Origin
lunes (moon day)	lundi	luna, lunae, moon
martes (Mars' day)	mardi	Mars, Martis, god of war
miércoles	mercredi	Mercurius, -i, messenger of gods
jeunes (Jove's day)	jeudi	Juppiter, Jovis, chief god
viernes	vendredi	Venus, Veneris, goddess of love and beauty
sábado	samedi	sabbata, -orūm, from Hebrew, also used by Romans as name for seventh day of week <sup>1</sup>
domingo	dimanche	(dies) dominicus, day of the Lord

You can't do this sort of thing for months, days, and numbers without noting that even the dullest students are aware of the "livingness" of Latin. One of my freshman boys who had written on the outside of his notebook "Latin is a dead language and it's killing me" carefully erased it before half the year was over. He couldn't stand the strain of his classmates' concerted "There's another Latin word that's still alive, Karl" every time a new

cognate came up for discussion.

Even the verb irregularities can make more sense if the pupils are taught to relate them to their Latin origin. Students see no incongruity in the fact that *voy*, *vas*, *va* are parts of the verb *ir* when they recall that *vadere* and *ire* could often substitute for one another. Similarly, the past participles *visto*, *escrito*, *puesto*, *roto*, and *muerto* may be traced to *visum*, *scriptum*, *positum*, *ruptum*, and *mortuum*.

*Connigo* and *contigo* become half exciting phenomena, half pleasant jokes when the redundant *cum* from *mecum* and *secum* is given as the origin of the *go*, and I have heard pupils murmuring to themselves like amused babies, "with me with, with you with" until the forgetting of such words becomes impossible.

I am not advocating the turning of an elementary language class into the study of comparative philology, but surely the explanation of such simple principles as I have listed cannot fail to make foreign language study more meaningful to students. It should be helpful in keeping before them constantly the fact that they are really studying Neo-Latin.

But in spite of the fact that Latin can be successfully brought into the Romance classroom in a variety of ways, there is a certain danger in allowing pupils to think that, because their Latin helps them to read other tongues, they therefore *know* them. Unfortunately too many pupils are already enrolled in French and Spanish because they think such courses are "snaps" to be taken by those who failed to pass Latin. Teachers of the classics can perform a real service to teachers of other languages by constantly emphasizing the truth that no language can be mastered without prolonged and serious effort—not even by those well grounded in Latin. \*

ELEANOR F. McKEY  
Waterville, Maine

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Agustín Mateos, *Etimologías latinas del Español*, Mexico City, 1945, p. 167.

<sup>2</sup> E. A. Andrews, *Latin-English Lexicon*.

<sup>3</sup> Suetonius, *Tiberius*, 32; Seneca, *Epistles*, 95.

## A ROMAN BANQUET IN 1948

**A**T BELL GARDEN Senior High School, we have a brand new school and a proud and enthusiastic student body that is interested in establishing traditions. The Latin classes represent the élite of the school, both intellectually and socially. It has been their desire to make their Roman banquet an outstanding annual event. At first, they thought they would accept outsiders, but there were so many requests for admittance that they decided to limit attendance to members of the Latin classes or the Latin Club.

Planning and preparation for the banquet took approximately two months and served as high motivation in the Latin classes. From Roman history and mythology they drew names of personages whom they would impersonate at the banquet. Several slips with the word *SLAVE* were included in the drawing.

The students wanted the banquet to be a costume affair. Costumers demanded large deposits and high rental fees which the youngsters in our community could not afford to pay. The sewing teacher came to the rescue and showed us how to make togas and Roman sack dresses out of old sheets without mutilating them, so that they could still be used for the original purpose for which they were intended.

A local feed store supplied us with some old gunny sacks which the slaves washed and made into costumes. They wore dog chains around their waists. One of the students supplied us with branches from her olive tree from which we made wreaths to wear on our heads as a precaution against becoming intoxicated at the banquet . . . an old Roman custom: the precaution, I mean.

The Art department helped us make scroll menus, which were written in Latin, and place cards which bore the names of the gods,

goddesses, heroes or heroines the guests were to represent. The menu consisted of olives, stuffed celery, deviled eggs, baked ham, Italian bread buttered with warm oleomargarine, and baked apples. Guests were compelled to eat with their fingers since tableforks were unknown to the Romans. When the hands became too dirty, the guests clapped for a slave who brought a finger bowl and a towel.

The tables were arranged in the shape of a U. In the center of the U, the slaves placed a large wash tub that had been thoroughly scrubbed and elaborately decorated. In this tub was a large cake of ice over which they poured gallons of grape juice representing wine. One of the slaves knelt by the tub dipping out the juice as the other slaves brought the goblets to be filled. The slaves were kept very busy running with food, grape juice and finger bowls.

Julius Caesar was the host and master of ceremonies. He toasted each guest and what he represented. As entertainment, first-year Latin students presented an original "modern myth" for second-year Latin students, who, in turn, acted out the legend of Pyramus and Thisbe in modern version. The Art department helped with props, costumes and masks.

Everyone who attended the banquet had a hilarious time, and those who were refused admittance are already begging to be admitted to the Latin classes and the Latin Club next year. We feel that the event was well worthwhile as a means of studying Roman culture, customs and literature, as lively motivation for the study of Latin, and as good advertisement for popularizing Latin classes.

VERNETTE TROSPER

*Bell Gardens Senior H.S.  
Montebello, California*

## LATIN WEEK BULLETIN 1949

The Fifth Latin Week Bulletin is being prepared by Professor Clyde Murley and should be ready for distribution about January 15. A list of state committeemen will be published soon in CJ; as previously, the co-ordinator and chairman of the Sub-Committee on Latin Week is Miss Essie Hill, 2311 Ringo St., Little Rock, Arkansas.

### †Arthur Winfred Hodgman

ON MAY 17, 1948, Arthur Winfred Hodgman died at the home of his sister in Lowell, Massachusetts. Born in this same city on Aug. 14, 1869, he pursued the New England tradition of Classical Studies with Harvard as a natural choice for College and University training. In 1896 he received his doctorate and shortly afterward published his dissertation, *The Versification of Latin Metrical Inscriptions Except Saturnians and Dactyls*. This interest led to further research on the versification of Latin epigraphic senarii and a lasting interest in Plautus.

In 1896 Professor Hodgman joined the staff of the Ohio State University, attained his professorship in 1918 and continued his unbroken years of teaching until his retirement in 1933. He also found time from 1907 to 1921 to teach at the Columbus School for Girls, which, perhaps, led to his increasing interest in pedagogy. Since he was a strict disciplinarian of what we now call the old school, the term pedagogy may be misleading; his students found him teaching word-groups in Virgil or Latin equivalents for modern punctuation. His students also found, when facing their own classes, that they were thoroughly prepared in Latin. They remembered him, and at Christmas time the volume of their greetings and letters was astonishing.

A somewhat solitary man, never married, he quietly helped a host of needy students, whose affection for him was deep. Most of us will long remember him for his charming translations into Latin; most of us have sung his version of "O Parve Vice Bethlehem."

J.B.T.

### †William Hamilton Kirk

THIRTY-FIVE years ago Prof. W. H. Kirk of Rutgers College published in the *Classical Weekly* "Grammatici Carmen." It ended:

Nemini invideo,  
vi doloque careo;  
Veritati serviens  
illi soli pareo.

He could hardly have realized that he was destined to carry on his studies, principally grammatical, *integra cum mente*, to the very end of a long life. Two substantial articles on the gerund and gerundive were published in 1942 and in 1945 in the *Transactions of the American Philological Association*.

Professor Kirk was born May 21, 1857, in Dorchester, Mass., and died in New Brunswick, N. J., December 24, 1947. In 1895 he received the Ph.D. degree at Johns Hopkins University and his thesis was *Demosthenic Style in the Private Orations*. Professor Minton Warren was one of the professors who influenced him most. After five years at Vanderbilt University, the turn of the century found him Professor of the Latin Language and Literature at Rutgers. From 1925 until his retirement in 1934 he was Head of the Department of Classical Languages and Literature.

Ten of his most fruitful years of teaching were the decade from 1918 to 1928 when part of his time was devoted to appreciative students in the newly established New Jersey College for Women. One of these, now in middle life, says that none of their group could ever forget him, the tall spare figure, the warm yet reserved smile and the merry twinkle in his eye, the rapier wit that would have been deadly had not a deep kindness and courtesy been in control, the frequent assignment "Do what you will," which served as a spur to eager students, his remarkable choice of words, a learning that seemed other-worldly, and then, almost beyond their belief, an armful of detective stories being taken home on a Saturday for the weekend.

S.S.

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### A SURVEY OF PUBLIC OPINION ON LATIN

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DR. LESLIE F. SMITH of the Department of History of the University of Oklahoma is making a study of the position of Latin in the secondary schools. He is anxious to discover whether the educated public influences the curriculum in any way, either by individual or by group action.

If any reader knows of members of the general public who have definite opinions on education and who might not object to answering a short questionnaire, he or she is invited to send names and addresses to Dr. Smith, at the University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma.

# BOOK REVIEWS

## PANAETIUS THE STOIC

VAN STRAATEN, MODESTUS, O.E.S.A., *Panaetius, sa vie, ses écrits et sa doctrine avec une édition des fragments*: Amsterdam, H. J. Paris (1946). Pp. xv + 399. F. 9.50.

THIS BOOK FILLS two real needs: it contains a collection of all the ancient *testimonia* to the life, works and doctrines of Panaetius of Rhodes, and it provides a careful and sober analysis of the evidence contained in them. Thus it will be a very welcome addition to the bibliography of the specialist. The appearance of this study has interest for the non-specialist as well, since it was from a work by Panaetius that Cicero derived the arguments for the first two books of his *De Officiis*.

Panaetius (ca. 180-ca. 109 B.C.) was a Stoic philosopher of considerable independence of thought who lived for a time with the younger Africanus and was the teacher of a number of Roman statesmen, and who later succeeded Antipater as head of the Stoic school in Athens. The evidence for the details of his life and of his doctrine is extremely sketchy. Time has dealt more than harshly with his writings. What Dr. van Straaten is able to present to us as fragments contain not a single direct quotation, nothing but incidental remarks or Latin adaptations. These so-called fragments have been arranged under subject headings in PART III (pp. 323-393). They are discussed at length under the same headings in PART I (pp. 1-226). PART II (pp. 227-322) presents the author's reasons for including or excluding passages which have been assumed by various writers to contain references to Panaetius or doctrines derived from him. In the introduction is a bibliography, quite full, and reliable except for some uncertainty regarding initials. The book is supplied with indices listing sources of fragments, subjects discussed, selected Greek terms, and proper names.

The collection of fragments contains 140

quotations, several of which are repeated under different subject headings to make a gross total of 165. It is a critical collection in the sense that the claims for inclusion of all doubtful passages have been subjected to exacting scrutiny, and in the sense that the individual texts reproduce recent critical editions where these are available. Included in the fragments are all passages where the name Panaetius occurs, and some others, chiefly excerpts from *De Officiis*, I and II. There are also five passages classed as doubtful which have been printed in conjunction with the fragments whose content most closely resembles theirs. Dr. van Straaten's selection should meet with general approval. The task of transcribing from the editions which he followed seems to have been performed without any very serious error. The copying has, in fact, been done so faithfully that he retains in the *apparatus* the first person of the individual editors as well as cross-references which have no significance in their present context. This policy is defensible but makes for considerable unevenness since the value of the editions followed varies and for some, Diogenes Laertius in particular, no truly critical edition exists. Further, rigid adherence to the method he has adopted leads not merely to the printing of extraneous matter, but also to a more serious fault, the omission from the *apparatus* of material not found in the models. Thus, in fragment 5, from Strabo, there is no hint of the existence of a variant discussed elsewhere in the book (page 7, note 5).

PART I includes a chapter on the life of the philosopher, a second on his writings, a series on different divisions of his philosophy and, finally, one concerned with his pupils. The philosophy is presented in the order adopted by Panaetius himself: physics, logic, and ethics. Dr. van Straaten regards Panaetius as definitely a Stoic, despite his eclectic tendencies. In this part of the book two types of

problem faced the author: the inadequacy of the evidence for all Panaetius' beliefs except those on ethics, and the fact that Cicero's *De Officiis* is both an adaptation and a condensation of Panaetius' work on moral duty. The method followed throughout is as nearly as possible to establish the previous Stoic position and to determine where and in what way Panaetius departed from it. The constant temptation towards expansive conjecture is resolutely resisted. The result, therefore, is not the picture of a philosophical system; it is, rather, the presentation of what can, with reasonable certainty, be attributed to Panaetius. For example, we are told that he believed the world eternal, that he denied the influence of stars on human life, that he may have denied the gods. Possible implications of these innovations are pointed out, but no attempt is made to reconstruct a possible but conjectural cosmology on the basis of this fragmentary information. What we have then is something less impressive but much more reliable than it might have been.

I shall close with two criticisms of a some-

what general nature, which should be understood as suggestions for the improvement of what is fundamentally a worthwhile book. First, it is awkward to use. There is a tendency towards division in its composition which has been carried farther than necessary. The most obvious example of this is the division into three interdependent parts which should be read together. Some cross-references could have been eliminated by making the discussions in PART II briefer and relegating them to the position of footnotes and appendices to the collection of fragments. Again, although the general bibliography is quite accessible, it takes some leafing of pages to locate the list of editions used for the fragments. Secondly, there is little summarizing of conclusions. The discussion, though verbose, is easy to follow, but the book would be much more valuable as a reference book if it had a short statement at the end of each chapter summing up the positive conclusions which have been arrived at.

J. HILTON TURNER

University of Vermont

## THE IDES OF MARCH

WILDER, THORNTON, *The Ides of March*: New York, Harper and Brothers (1948). Pp. 246. \$2.75.

CLASSICAL BOOKS on best-seller lists are rare, best-sellers worth a classicist's time rarer still; *The Ides of March* makes thus a double claim upon our attention. Indeed, in a season in which Jeffers' *Medea* packed the house, Toynbee's *Study of History* outsold John Gunther, and an eclogue of Auden's was the most important poem, we may not be far wrong in seeing the beginnings of a small classical renaissance, which only cynics will connect with the American conservative counter-revolution.

Mr. Wilder's experience fits him admirably for a part in this rebirth. He has been a fellow of the American Academy in Rome, and at least two of his previous novels and two of his plays have Roman inspiration. Though his first novel, *The Cabala*, is set in modern

Rome, his *Woman of Andros* is a most sympathetic reconstruction of Terence and Menander, his *Merchant of Yonkers* is pure Plautus, and *The Skin of Our Teeth* has classical undertones. In fact, I seem to detect a suggestion of the star of this last play, Tallulah Bankhead, in the actress Cytheris, who figures in the new novel as the cast-off mistress of Marc Antony.

*The Ides of March* is a series of imaginary documents revealing the character of Julius Caesar and those who surrounded him in his last years: Catullus, Clodia, Cleopatra, Cicero the wit, Nepos the pedant, Pollio the republican, and Brutus the confused conservative. Mr. Wilder's concept of Caesar—strongly influenced by Mommsen and Bernard Shaw—reveals itself most clearly in a series of journal-letters supposed to have been written by the dictator to his friend Turturinus, crippled in the war in Gaul and living in re-

tirement on Capri. (Turrinus' modern counterpart is the author's friend Edward Sheldon, "who, though immobile and blind for over twenty years, was the dispenser of wisdom, courage, and gaiety to a large number of people." To him, and to the anti-Fascist aviator-poet Lauro de Bosis—a modern Catullus—the book is dedicated).

The keynote of the book is struck in a quotation from *Faust*, with the author's gloss:

"Das Schaudern ist der Menschheit bestes  
Teil;  
Wie auch die Welt ihm das Gefühl ver-  
teure. . . ."

"Out of man's recognition in fear and awe that there is an Unknowable comes all that is best in the explorations of his mind—even though that recognition is often misled into superstition, enslavement, and overconfidence."

Or, as Caesar puts it in his journal (39), "At times I am aware that my life and my services to Rome seem to have been shaped by a power beyond myself. It may well be, my friend, that I am the most irresponsible of irresponsible men, capable long since of bringing upon Rome all the ills that a state can suffer, but for the fact that I was the instrument of a higher wisdom that selected me for my limitations and not for my strength. I do not reflect, and it may be that that instantaneous operation of my judgment is no other than the presence of the *daimon* within me, which is a stranger to me, and which is the love which the Gods bear to Rome, and which my soldiers worship and the people pray to in the morning." Mr. Wilder's Caesar is an *Übermensch*, lacking that necessary fault which Aristotle wisely prescribes for tragic heroes. Clodia, Cleopatra, and Pompeia are all in love with him: he is stern with the first, tender to the second (she calls him "Deedja"), and paternal to the third. His tact, his aesthetic sense, his grasp of detail are all super-human, so that Brutus has to be made out a madman to be capable of killing him.

Though the other characters are petty men who creep about in the shadow of this Colossus, three of them—Clodia, Catullus, and Cleopatra—stand out in the round.

Clodia has become the enemy of the human

race because, as she tells Catullus, "My uncle violated me at the age of twelve . . . in an orchard, at noon. Under a blazing sun." Hopelessly in love with Caesar, she toys with Catullus, with her brother, with Caesar's silly wife, with "magnanimi Remi nepotes." Her evil genius prompts most of the action: Catullus' savage lampoons upon his rival Caesar, her brother's violation of the festival of the Bona Dea (a conscious anachronism), Antony's desertion of Cytheris for Cleopatra, and even the assassination itself.

Catullus, through whatever eyes we see him, is the most attractive character in the book. To the stuffy Ciceo, who obviously knows nothing about the poet's eye in fine frenzy rolling, Catullus' verses are nevertheless "high and mournful music . . . based upon buried trains of thought" (67), "the first airs blowing on our literature from the Alps" (103). To the loyal Cleopatra the poet is "a scurrilous versifier" (188). But to Caesar, magnanimous to the last, he is a fellow genius for whose sake, in the novel's most moving moment, he deserts Cleopatra to sit by the bedside of the dying poet and read him Sophocles to comfort his last hours. *Si non è vero, è molto ben trovato.*

Cleopatra is the woman whom Caesar would have preferred as his consort, *das Ewig-Weibliche*, the mother as goddess. "She possesses the rarest endowments of the animal and the rarest endowments of the human being; but of the quality that separates us from the swiftest horse, the proudest lion, and the shrewdest serpent she has no inkling; she knows not what to do with what she has. Too wise to be gratified by vanity; too strong to be content with ruling; too large for wife." (243)

This, then, is a novel of character and of problems: of characters so alive that they put to shame us professional scholars who have not learned how to breathe the breath of life into the age with which so much of our teaching is concerned; of problems that involve our age as much as Caesar's. For we, too, are troubled as was Caesar by the "conviction that the central movement of the mind is the desire for unrestricted liberty and that

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this movement is invariably accompanied by its opposite, a dread of the consequences of liberty." (219)

Whether high-school students can read *The Ides of March* with profit is a question which it may not be left to their teachers to decide. But it is certain, in any case, that their teachers should read it. For it compares with the sensationalism of Koestler's *Gladiators*,

the piety of *A Friend of Caesar*, or the goody-goodness of Henty as gold with dross. Only the Claudius novels of Robert Graves, of historical fiction about Rome known to me, compare with Mr. Wilder's as masterly recreations of the ancient world.

PAUL MACKENDRICK

University of Wisconsin

## THE ATTALIDS OF PERGAMON

HANSEN, ESTHER V., *The Attalids of Pergamon* (Cornell Studies in Classical Philology, volume 29): Ithaca, New York, Cornell University Press (1947). Pp. xxxvi+464. \$4.50.

THE IMPORTANCE OF PERGAMON in the Hellenistic World and in the history of Western culture is so great that the publication of a book such as the one under review is a welcome event. Miss Hansen is well qualified for the task she has undertaken. She has devoted many years to the subject and, to further her studies, has visited various European libraries and museums and in May 1931 the site of Pergamon itself. A great mass of material is available on Pergamon, especially as a result of the three campaigns conducted by German archaeologists from 1878 until shortly before World War II. The evidence thus unearthed has been published primarily in the ten volumes of the *Altertümern von Pergamon* which have been followed by a great number of special studies. "To present within the compass of a single volume a picture of this Hellenistic city, details of which have been the subject of innumerable treatises, is the purpose of the present work."

The first third of the book gives an interesting account of the political history of Pergamon. Although the Caicus valley had been inhabited for millennia, Pergamon itself is not mentioned in the pages of Greek literature until the final chapter of the *Anabasis* where Xenophon records that he with the remnants of the Ten Thousand met Thibron there in the spring of 399 B.C. Pergamon and the neighboring communities at that time were

under the control of the Gongylids, descendants of that Gongylus who in 490 had helped betray his native city Eretria to the Persians. In the Hellenistic period Pergamon first came into prominence after the battle of Ipsus in 301 when Lysimachus deposited there a treasure of 9000 talents under the guardianship of Philetaerus who had deserted to him from Antigonus. This Philetaerus, the founder of the Attalid dynasty, was probably a Macedonian on his father's side, while his mother was a Paphlagonian. He remained loyal to Lysimachus until 282 when, presumably, the intrigues of Arsinoë, Lysimachus' third wife, caused him to transfer his allegiance to Seleucus. Thereafter he remained in Seleucid service until his death in 263. Although acknowledging the suzerainty of the Seleucids, he retained possession of the treasure and established the precedent for his successors of using it to secure the goodwill of states both in Asia Minor and Greece. Philetaerus was succeeded by his nephew Eumenes who, profiting by the struggle between Ptolemy II and Antiochus I, asserted his independence from the Seleucids. This independence was symbolized by a new coinage which substituted the head of Philetaerus for that of Seleucus. It should be mentioned here that throughout the book excellent use has been made of the numismatic evidence. Unfortunately no reproductions of coins are given.

The long reign of Attalus I, the son of Eumenes' cousin, from 241 to 197 was extremely eventful. Miss Hansen gives a good account of Attalus' famous victory over the Gauls which led to his assumption of the title

of king and of how he enlarged his realm by capitalizing on the confusion in the Seleucid Empire caused by the Laodicean War and the War of the Brothers (Seleucus II and Antiochus Hierax). His ambitions, however, were finally curbed by Antiochus III who by 213 had succeeded in reestablishing Seleucid prestige in Asia Minor. Sometime prior to 219 Attalus had entered into relations with the Aetolian League. The reasons for this step are obscure. Possibly Attalus, foreseeing the curtailment of his activities in Asia Minor, was anxious to find another area in which to exercise his influence and energies (p. 46). Regardless of his motives, however, it was a significant move, for it led to Attalus' participation in the First Macedonian War on the side of the Aetolians and Romans. Henceforth the close association between Pergamon and Rome was to be one of the determining factors in the development of Hellenistic history.

Miss Hansen's treatment of the First and Second Macedonian Wars is not entirely satisfactory.<sup>1</sup> For some reason she ceases to give adequate references to the ancient sources. The reader knows that most of the evidence for this period comes from Polybius and Livy, but it is annoying not to have the specific passages cited. She also has overlooked some very pertinent modern works. For example, no mention is made of Walbank's book on Philip V,<sup>2</sup> or of Magie's excellent article<sup>3</sup> which proved conclusively to this reviewer, at least, that the so-called agreement between Philip V and Antiochus III to partition the non-Egyptian possessions of Ptolemy was merely a fabrication of Attalus and the Rhodians to persuade Rome to take up arms against Philip. Miss Hansen (p. 51) accepts this agreement without question.

The account of the career of Attalus I ends with the following sentences (p. 65): "The reign of Attalus I is not only the longest but also the most laudable of the whole dynasty. Although the final result of his wars in Asia was no extensive empire, he had achieved his conquests by his own efforts. Again, in his relations with Rome, his position was one of dignity and respect." No one will question

the ability and energy of Attalus I and his great service to civilization in defeating the Gauls, but in any estimate of his achievements it seems only proper to call attention to the less creditable side of the picture. Attalus I, it should not be forgotten, for no apparent reason except that of personal ambition aided Rome in the ill-omened First Macedonian War and was largely responsible for the outbreak of the Second Macedonian War which ended with the assumption by Rome of the dominant rôle in Greece. His successor may have been more responsible, as Miss Hansen says (p. 134), for subordinating Pergamon to Rome, but it was Attalus I who set the precedent which ended in his kingdom's undoing. He also did not scruple to exploit the helplessness of the Greeks, as is clearly shown by his carrying off the art treasures of Aegina and Oreus (p. 61) to add to his collection in Pergamon.

### *Reign of Eumenes II*

ATTALUS I WAS succeeded in 197 by his son Eumenes II. This monarch was noted as the master builder of Pergamon. He also was an active military figure. He aided the Romans in their war against Nabis of Sparta for no other discernible reason than the hope of gaining their support against Antiochus III. He incited the Romans against Antiochus and assisted them zealously in the war which marked the real beginning of the disintegration of the Seleucid Empire. Naturally he was richly rewarded by the Treaty of Apamea. Not satisfied with this he did his utmost to arouse the Romans against Perseus and thus contributed greatly to the destruction of the Antigonid line in Macedon.<sup>4</sup> The pages on Eumenes' reign are rather disappointing. References to the sources—particularly in the account of Rome's war against Antiochus—are insufficient. Also Miss Hansen's appraisal of Eumenes is somewhat puzzling. Although subsequently (p. 134), when summarizing the reign of his successor, she states that "Eumenes II was perhaps more responsible than either his predecessor or his successor in placing his kingdom under the heel of Rome," she ends her account (p. 121) of his reign by

quoting in Shuckburgh's translation Polybius' rather fulsome eulogy of Eumenes.<sup>5</sup> Such a passage is chiefly significant in revealing the predominantly Roman point of view of the historian who is so often called impartial. There is no suggestion there, or in Miss Hansen's remarks, that Eumenes, in his desire for the aggrandizement of Pergamon, was largely responsible for the collapse of the Antigonid and Seleucid kingdoms and for the ultimate absorption of his own realm in the rapidly expanding Roman Empire.

Eumenes' brother, Attalus II, succeeded him in 159. Like his predecessors he was careful to avoid giving offense to Rome. When the Romans destroyed Corinth in 146, a Pergamene contingent was present to aid Mummius in writing *Finis* to Greek history. If one recalls how zealously the Attalids had assisted Rome ever since her first appearance in Greece proper in 211, it is difficult to escape the conclusion that politically, at least, the Attalids were the evil genius of Greece and the Hellenistic monarchies. Consequently the bequeathing of his kingdom to Rome in 133 by Attalus III seems hardly more than the logical and inevitable result of the policies of his predecessors.

In summary it can be said that Miss Hansen's account of the political history of the Attalids is extremely interesting and instructive. On the whole she has made skillful use of the literary, epigraphic, and numismatic evidence. The chief fault would seem to lie in her failure at times to point out sufficiently the significance of some of the Attalid actions and policies. A more thorough analysis of the reliability of the literary sources would also have been in order.

### *The Kingdom Described*

A LONG CHAPTER on The Kingdom of the Attalids follows the historical narrative, including sections on The Organization of the Kingdom, The Government of the Capital, Sources of Income, Coinage, and The Army. The Attalid Kingdom, naturally enough, on a small scale was similar to the Seleucid. Within its boundaries were Greek cities, both sub-

ject and "free," colonies, temple states including many villages, and great areas of crown land cultivated by the *βασιλικοί λαοί*. This chapter is too packed with information to lend itself to comment in this review. It is probably the best portion of the book, and from it one can obtain an excellent picture of the governmental, military, social, and economic policies of the dynasty as a whole. After reading it one is convinced that in ability and energy the Attalids did not fall short of the high standards set by so many of the Hellenistic rulers.

Chapter VII is devoted to The Building Activity of the Attalids. Before the time of the Attalids the wall surrounding the stronghold on the summit of the hill of Pergamon enclosed an area of about twenty-two acres. Philetaerus expanded the size of the city to include an area of almost fifty-two acres. It was Eumenes II, however, who was the great city builder. The area enclosed by his wall was two hundred and twenty-two acres. This king had the city laid out according to the best principles of Hellenistic city planning. To give an idea of Eumenes' city Miss Hansen traces the course of the main street through the city from its beginning at the Great South Gate to its end on the summit of the citadel. She describes the buildings which, from Eumenes' time, would have been visible from the thoroughfare. Among these structures were the famous library, filled with books not always obtained by too ethical methods (p. 157), and the theatre, capable of seating 10,000 spectators. So far as is possible without the help of photographs, plans, etc., Miss Hansen enables one to visualize the magnificence of the city, but the lack of such visual aids is naturally greatly to be deplored. There is also included a discussion of the extensive building operations of the Attalids outside Pergamon. By such generosity to various states in Asia Minor, the Aegean Islands, and Greece proper, the kings did much to increase their popularity. It is interesting to learn that at Ancyra the temple, on whose wall was cut the *Monumentum Ancyranum*, was probably built by the Attalids (p. 267).

### Art, Literature

AS IS WELL KNOWN, the victories of Attalus I over the Gauls supplied the great incentive for creative sculpture at Pergamon. The chapter on The Art of Pergamon describes in great detail what is known of the various statues and monuments. Over twenty pages are devoted to a discussion of the two friezes on the Great Altar. Unfortunately, because of the lack of plates, such a description, no matter how excellently done, is bound to be rather full and pointless. The facts are there, but for them to have meaning it will be necessary for the reader to consult those volumes which contain the essential illustrative material. The same criticism holds true for the discussion of the influence of Pergamene sculpture on Roman and Campanian architectural wall paintings of the so-called second style. Again, for the same reason, the sections on Painting, Mosaics, Toreutics, Engraved Gems, Pottery, and Terra Cottas are little more than catalogues. Miss Hansen emphasizes that the Attalids, in addition to being great patrons of contemporary art, also began a collection of famous works of earlier art from other states. In the general admiration for Pergamene culture it is frequently forgotten that many of these art treasures were procured at the expense of the disasters which befell such cities as Aegina, Oreus, and Corinth.

### Education

THE CHAPTER on Attalid Patronage of Learning is extremely interesting. Besides sections on the education of young boys and girls, the ephebes, and the *neoi*, and on the generosity of the Attalids to the Academy and the Peripatetics at Athens, there is a long discussion of the various scholars and literary figures who lived permanently or temporarily at the Pergamene court. Among the best known figures associated with Pergamon were Antigonus of Carystus, the art critic and biographer of the philosophers; Neanthes of Cyzicus, the historian; Biton, the author of the treatise on war machines and catapults; Apollonius of

Perge, the famous author of the *Conica*; Crates of Mallos, distinguished as a literary critic, who on an embassy to Rome lectured there on literature and literary criticism; Crates' great pupil, Panaetius of Rhodes, the Stoic philosopher; Apollodorus of Athens, the author of the influential *Chronica*; Nicander of Colophon whose two didactic poems, the *Theriaca* and the *Alexipharmacata*, are the only complete works which survive from any Pergamene author; it will be remembered that Ovid in composing the *Metamorphoses* was certainly influenced to some extent by his *Heteroiomena*. In reading about all these literary and scholarly figures it is interesting to note for how much of our information about them we are indebted to Athenaeus.

### Religion

THE FINAL CHAPTER is concerned with the Cults of Pergamon. Space is lacking to say more than that these pages contain much valuable material, especially on the Cabiri, who possibly originally were Hittite gods, and on the cult of the Attalids. As might be expected, it was the victory of Attalus I over the Gauls which more than anything else contributed to the development of the ruler cult in the Pergamene kingdom.

There are two appendices, one on The Parentage and Date of Birth of Attalus III in which the conflicting evidence is presented, but no conclusions are drawn, and one on Coin Types of the Pergamene Kingdom. The index is good.

Miss Hansen is to be congratulated on having accomplished successfully a very useful and difficult task. In certain respects her work can be adversely criticized, but in view of the great scope of the undertaking it is probably surprising that there are not more points with which one can quarrel. It is most unfortunate that, presumably because of printing costs, no plates and no adequate map are included. Their presence would have enhanced the value of the volume tremendously. Despite whatever shortcomings can be mentioned, however, *The Attalids of Pergamon*

is a study which will be consulted frequently and with great profit by all students of the Hellenistic world.

JOHN V. A. FINE

Princeton University

NOTES

<sup>1</sup> On page 49 the Peace of Phoenice is incorrectly dated in 204.

Subsequently (p. 63) the correct date, 203, is given.

<sup>2</sup> F. W. Walbank. *Philip V. of Macedon* (Cambridge,

England 1940).

<sup>3</sup> David Magie, *J.R.S.* 29 (1939), 32-44.

<sup>4</sup> In her treatment of the Third Macedonian War Miss Hansen should have referred to the Athenian decree published by B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia*, 5 (1936), 429-430; cf. *Hesperia*, 3 (1934), 18-21. This document reveals that the battle of Pydna was fought in the early summer of 168 before the Athenian archon Eunikos went out of office and that the brothers of Eumenes II, Attalus and Athenaeus, were present with the Romans at the battle. In various other places consultation of the index to *Hesperia*, volumes 1-10, would have been profitable.

<sup>5</sup> *xxxii*, 22.

## PLATO AND PLEASURE

HACKFORTH, R., *Plato's Examination of Pleasure, a Translation of the Philebus with Introduction and Commentary*: Cambridge, at the University Press; New York, the Macmillan Co. (1945). Pp. vii + 144. \$2.75.

IN ADDITION to a translation of Plato's *Philebus* with a brief concurrent commentary (both consisting of 132 pages), this volume contains a preface (1 page), an introduction (10 pages), and an index of proper names (1 page). The readers of THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL should welcome Prof. Hackforth's treatise, because it furnishes them an additional opportunity of studying a delightful dialogue of a master-mind of all ages—Plato.

Prof. Hackforth, according to the preface, wrote the manuscript at the suggestion of Prof. F. M. Cornford and as a supplement to Dr. R. G. Bury's edition of the *Philebus*, which was published about a half-century ago. Throughout the text the footnotes present evidence that he relies especially on the work of these two scholars plus that of Prof. A. E. Taylor, although he frequently offers original ideas and cites numerous other students of Plato.

The translation of the *Philebus* is rather a paraphrase. For example, both *πειρώμεθα* and *τειπαρέν* (12B) are rendered by "we must attempt" and "we must make the attempt," respectively. *Κατ' αὐθηρωπον* (12C) is elaborated into the clause "you would think a man could be." *Πώ;* (13E) becomes "Will they? Why?" The readers may also compare the rendering of 11A and 14A with the Greek text.

We do not make these and the following remarks with the intention of disparaging Prof. Hackforth's version, for he consistently retains the thought of the original. Only occasionally does the English paraphrase fail to bring out the thought of Plato—as in the translation of *έτερω . . . διόματι* (13A) by the phrase "a name other than their own." The point Plato wishes to make is that, since there are both good and evil pleasures, Protarchus is employing only "one of the two names" when he claims all pleasant things are good.

The concurrent commentary consists of twenty-seven summarized explanations of subsequent pages interspersed throughout the translation. The length of each varies from a half-page to several pages. Readers will find them helpful for keeping in mind the trend of thought in the dialogue. The references to parallel passages in the other treatises of Plato should be of assistance to those who are somewhat familiar with the Platonic dialogues. The mature student of Plato, however, will perhaps place most value on the footnotes, which the author has purposely kept at a minimum. Prof. Hackforth is to be commended especially for his attempt to portray the unity of the *Philebus*, for, as he remarks, "the formlessness of the work has been often exaggerated" (p. 10).

The introduction attempts to determine the date of composition and the purpose of the dialogue. The author assigns the former to approximately 360-354 B.C., and links the latter with Eudoxus of Cnidus, whose dictum

on pleasure Aristotle records in the *Nicomachean Ethics* (1172B). In respect to these two attempts the reader should be cautious, for both are hypothetical.

Underlying the discussion which dates the composition of the *Philebus* between 360 and 354 B.C., are several hypotheses: that Plato was serious in all his statements on politics in the *Republic*; that he wished to make over Syracuse into such a state; that Plato altered his political theories after his experiences with Dionysius II; and that dialogues containing similar thoughts must have been written at approximately the same time. An adequate evaluation of these hypotheses could not be given in the space of this review; therefore, anyone who is interested may consult the reviewer's volume, *The Theme of Plato's Republic* (Eden Publishing House, St. Louis, Mo.).

It is surprising that Prof. Hackforth associates the purpose of the *Philebus* with Eudoxus of Cnidus, but fails to mention any possible connection between the dialogue and Aristippus. This possibility at least merits consideration; for Plato portrays Protarchus as having heard Gorgias frequently (58A), and the first page of the *Meno* mentions the influence of Gorgias upon Aristippus (70B).

In analyzing the personality traits of Socrates in the *Philebus*, Prof. Hackforth gives evidence of careful study and keenness, for he rises far above many of the other commentators. Raeder, for example, has written: "Der Sokrates, der hier auftritt, hat mit dem Sokrates, der sonst in den platonischen Dialogen als Leiter des Gesprächs erscheint, nur den Namen gemeinsam" (p. 7, note 4). H. N. Fowler is apparently of the same opinion in the brief introduction to his translation of the *Philebus* in the Loeb edition. Prof. Hackforth, however, has taken the time to observe many characteristics which are exhibited by Socrates in the *Philebus* as well as in other dia-

logues: "his diffidence in attaching names to the gods . . . his habit of deliberately non-plussing his hearers, as it seemed to them . . . his attribution of a novel idea to something that he might have dreamt or 'heard from somebody' . . . his bantering self-depreciation . . . the semi-ironical compliment . . . the device of the 'dialogue within a dialogue' involving a personification of abstractions."

One major omission, to the mind of the reviewer, is that there is no comparison between the statements in the *Protagoras* on pleasure and those of the *Philebus*. The author may have thought it to be beyond the scope of his commentary. Such a comparison, however, would have been interesting, if not essential; since he does make frequent references to parallel passages in Plato and since the *Protagoras* does elaborate on the thesis that all pleasures are good.

Minor omissions concern primarily the index of proper names. This index does not include the proper names contained in the additional note (pp. 142-143) and omits, for example, the names of the following: Ritter and Preller (p. 13), Stobaeus (p. 87), Diels-Kranz (pp. 59 and 87), Adam (p. 88), and Bury (p. 88). On the whole, the key words are translated consistently: *φρόνησις* and its cognates = intelligence; *νοῦς* and its cognates = reason; and *ἐπιστήμη* = knowledge. But in at least two instances the consistency is broken: in 11B *τὸ φρονέν* and *τὸ νοέν* are rendered thought and intelligence, respectively; and in 33C *νῷ* is translated intelligence.

Prof. Hackforth has, in general, performed a difficult task well and his volume should be of benefit to all who study it, for the problems which Plato posed are as relevant today as they were in Greece during the fourth century.

ROBERT GEORGE HOERBER  
Westminster College  
Fulton, Missouri

— In November

"Views of a Latin Classroom"

## "WE SEE BY THE PAPERS"

Continued from page 42

still to mock us? When is there to be an end of that unbridled audacity of yours, swaggering about as it does now?" (Clipping from the Chicago TRIBUNE, March 28, contributed by Miss Lotta B. Liebmann, Cleveland Heights, Ohio.) The same classical allusion was employed by Federal Judge T. Alan Goldsborough in denouncing John L. Lewis for his refusal to negotiate with Southern coal producers. "It's your boundless audacity, O Catiline," he said. TIME (June 14) expanded this with a rough translation: "How much longer, Mr. Catiline, do you think you're going to get away with it? If you think we'll take your rough japerie forever, you're crazy. Just keep up that bodacious swaggering a little longer, and you're going to be told where to head in."

the founding of Cahokia, Ill., according to a story in the St. Louis POST-DISPATCH June 10. The meeting of the Cahokia Duosquicentennial Association which agreed on the name included the heads of the Historical Societies of Illinois and Missouri, a Washington University English professor, and a historian and librarian of St. Louis University. The latter, the Rev. Joseph P. Donnelly, S.J., made a statement when called on to justify the sesquipedalian word. "It all depends on the punctuation," he was quoted as saying. "If you use a hyphen after the 'duo,' the word undoubtedly means 300 years. But if you use it as one word, well, there is no such word, but we've got the right to invent a word. That shows the the English language is alive." It does, does it?

A Note from the New York TIMES of May 9 states that the graduating class of Hamilton College requested to receive diplomas written in Latin, after the 1947 class had received an English version, the first in the college's history. The same newspaper on June 3 announced that W. Newell Snow of New York was the senior selected to deliver the annual salutatory address in Latin at Princeton's 201st commencement. These items, sent in by Professor Levy, suggest that Latin is not completely a dead language, at least in the month of June. And further evidence is found in the account, in the HAVERFORD News of June 12, of Charles Oscar Rose, who was a student first of Haverford College, then of neighboring, rival Swarthmore, and finally of Haverford again. He was football captain in both institutions. In recognition of his unusual record, his diploma bore a special inscription on the back, signed by the presidents of both colleges, hailing him as "egregium athletam palantem, solum . . . qui memoria maiorum munere ducali cohortis pedipilatorum utrius conlegi nostri . . . functus sit, O tempora, O mores!"

ROMAN EXCAVATIONS, undertaken to extend an uncompleted, pre-war subway tunnel from the Colosseum to the central railway station, to the annoyance of the subway contractor are revealing a wealth of archaeological material, according to a story in TIME, June 7. A palace was uncovered, probably that of Faustina, wife of Marcus Aurelius; also public baths and the "red-light district of the 2nd and 3rd Centuries, A.D.," and some remnants of the so-called Servian Wall, built in 387 B.C.

TIME's Science department for the week of August 16 describes the project of Professor George G. Cameron of the University of Chicago to copy the famous Behistun inscriptions by pressing the carvings with a rubber compound. Attempts were made to copy this "Rosetta Stone of Western Asia" a hundred years ago and again in 1904, not with complete success, TIME says, and the inscriptions are not accessible enough for effective photographing. However TIME does present an impressive photograph of the carved mountainside showing the colossal relief figures of Darius and his subjugated enemies.

DUOSQUICENTENNIAL is the word that was coined and adopted for the 250th anniversary of

W.C.S.

— In December

"The Marines of Athens" by John F. Charles

CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF  
THE ATLANTIC STATES

FALL MEETING

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 27

10:30 A.M.

CHALFONTE-HADDON HALL  
ATLANTIC CITY, N.J.

CAPS (CENTRAL SECTION)

THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION of the Pacific States (Central Section) held its spring (and annual) meeting on April 17th in Berkeley at the College Women's City Club. Including members and guests, 55 persons were present. President Rofena Polk handled the business with her usual efficiency. As her successor in the presidency was chosen Miss May Seitz of Sacramento Senior High School. Other officers: vice-president, Mr. Paul Huchthausen, Concordia College, Oakland; secretary-treasurer (for seventh term) Professor W. H. Alexander, University of California; executive members, Miss Vera Jones, Oakland; Mr. E. Y. Lindsay, Sacramento; Professor W. M. Green, Berkeley.

Professor Green reported for the meeting of CAPS recently held at the University of Oregon, Eugene, with the Northern Section. Professor Hazel Hansen, Stanford University, gave a progress report for the committee on the Henry Rushton Fairclough prizes, indicating that 34 schools were entered in the contest, with 116 competitors.

Professor Arthur Gordon was congratulated on the receipt of an American Academy at Rome Fellowship for 1948-1949, and the regrets of the section were expressed at the loss of Professor Harold Cherniss to the Institute for Advanced Studies at Princeton, N. J.

Professor L. A. Post, professor of Greek at Haverford College and presently Sather professor of Classical Literature in the University of California, gave the address of the afternoon on "Feminism in Greek Literature." The tracing of the attitude of Greek writers towards women from Homer to Menander, with close study of the dramatists and some passing references to Plato and Xenophon, was keenly followed by the audience, who did not fail to appreciate the keen touches of humor with which Professor Post illuminated the address. Mrs. Polk thanked him gracefully on behalf of the section.

An invitation was received to meet in the fall with the University of Santa Clara.

W.H.A.

CAV, SPRING CONFERENCE

THE SPRING conference of the Classical Association of Virginia was held in the Alderman Library of the University of Virginia, Charlottesville, on May 8, 1948. The meeting was called to order by the president, Dr. Graves H. Thompson of Hampden-Sydney College. Dr. Alexander D. Fraser, professor of Classical Archaeology and History at the University of Virginia, presented Mr. Colgate W. Darden, President of the University, who gave words of welcome to the Conference.

Miss C. Clay Adams, Chairman of the annual state-wide Latin tournament and member of the faculty of Mary Washington College of the University of Virginia, presented the report of the tournament committee. Miss Lucile Cox of Lynchburg, Sub-Chairman, announced the awards. Mrs. Katherine A. Meade of Lane High, Charlottesville, reported the status of the *News Letter* of which she is editor. Dr. Thompson and Dr. George J. Ryan, judges of the annual state-wide Latin essay contest, announced the names of the 1948 winners, one boy and one girl. The contest which was started in 1947 at Dr. Thompson's suggestion had over sixty entries in its second year.

The president introduced Dr. Ryan of the College of William and Mary who brought to the Conference a *Preview of the Bacchae of Euripides*. Following Dr. Ryan's talk, Prof. Arthur F. Stocker of the University of Virginia presented a paper on *Bacchic Cults in Rome*. During the remainder of the morning the group enjoyed the

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color sound film, *Triumph over Time*, released by the American School of Classical Studies in Athens.

Following a luncheon given by the University the group journeyed to Randolph-Macon Women's College in Lynchburg to witness Prof. Mabel K. Whiteside's production in the original Greek of Euripides' *Bacchae*. After the performance the association members were guests of RMWC for supper and coffee hour.

Officers of CAV for 1948-50 are: President, Prof. Mary J. Pearl, Sweet Briar College; Vice-President, Prof. Arthur F. Stocker, Univ. of Va.; Secretary, Miss Marian West, St. Catherine's, Richmond; Treasurer, Miss Mary L. Tillette, Granby, Norfolk; Tournament Chairman, Miss C. Clay Adams, Mary Washington College, Fredericksburg; Tournament Committee, Miss Lucile Cox, Dr. Rollin H. Tanner, Dr. Herbert C. Lipscomb, Miss Margaret Armstrong; Service Bureau, Prof. Irving R. Silverman, Radford College; Editor of News Letter, Mrs. Katherine A. Meade, Lane High, Charlottesville; Advisory Committee, Prof. Pauline Turnbull, Westhampton College; Miss Elizabeth Glass, Glass High, Lynchburg.

The next meeting of the CAV will be held at the John Marshall Hotel, Richmond, Saturday, October 30, 1948 at 10:30 A.M.

## Check List of Recent Books

Compiled by Lionel Casson and George A. Yanelli of New York University and including books received at the Editorial Office.

### I. ANCIENT AUTHORS

Aristotle. GIACON, C. Il divenire in Aristotele. 200 pages. Cedam, Padua 1947 (Problemi d'oggi, terza serie, vol. v) 650 L.

Aristotle. JAEGER, WERNER. Aristotle. Translated by RICHARD ROBINSON. Second Edition. 475 pages. Oxford, London 1948 21s.

Ciceron. CARCOPINO, J. Les secrets de la correspondance de Cicéron. Two volumes: 448 pages, 496 pages. Artisan du Livre, Paris 1948 1200 fr.

Ciceron. VANELLA, G. L'humanitas della concezione oratoria e storiografica di Cicerone. 116 pages. Campa, Naples 1947 140 L.

Ennius. CORDIER, A. Les débuts de l'hexamètre latin. Ennius. 94 pages. Vrin, Paris 1947 (Publications de la Faculté de Lettres de l'Université de Lille, viii) 100 fr.

Homer. KERR, GEORGE. Homer's *Odyssey*. 225 pages, ill. Lunn, London 1948 8s. 6d.

Horace. TUROLA, E. Unità ideologica e tematica nel primo libro delle *Epistole oratione*. 140 pages. Montuoro, Venice 1947 500 L.

Pindar. DES PLACES, E. Le pronom chez Pindare. Klincksieck, Paris 1948 (Études et commentaires, 3) 300 fr.

Plato. DICKINSON, G. LOWES. Plato and his Dialogues. 139 pages. Penguin, London 1948 1s. 6d.

Plato. GOLDSCHMIDT, VICTOR. Les dialogues de Platon. xii + 376 pages. Presses Universitaires de France, Paris 1948 400 fr.

Plato. GOLDSCHMIDT, VICTOR. Le paradigme dans la dialectique platonicienne. 144 pages. Presses Universitaires de France, Paris 1948 150 fr.

Plato. JOSEPH, H. W. B. Knowledge and the Good in Plato's *Republic*. 73 pages. Oxford, London 1948 5s.

Plutarch. Sur la disparition des oracles. Belles Lettres, Paris 1948 (Annales de l'Université de Lyon, Fasc. 14) 850 fr. (Author's name not given in materials searched.)

Quintilian. AUSTIN, R. G. Quintiliani Institutionis Oratoriae Liber XII. 246 pages. Oxford, London 1948 12s. 6d.

Somnium Scipionis. TRAGLIA, A. Sulle fonti e sulla lingua del Sommum Scipionis. 32 pag. s. Gismondi, Rome 1947 (Convivium, 5) 150 L.

Tibullus. PARATORE, E. Sulla "Vita Tibulli" e le "Vitae vergiliane." 44 pages. Gismondi, Rome 1947 (Convivium, 6) 225 L.

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Vergil. SANTORO, A. I problemi della composizione dell'Eneide. Livio fonte di Virgilio. 121 pages. Libreria scientifica editrice, Naples 1947.

Vergil. TILLY, BERTHA. Vergil's Latium. 123 pages, ill. Blackwell, London 1947 15s.

## 2. LITERARY HISTORY AND CRITICISM

BOETHIUS, A. Gli echi dell'opera di Livio nel mondo scientifico e culturale della Svezia, con un saggio di bibliografia liviana svedese di O. von FELLITZEN. 36 pages. Istituto di studi romani, Rome 1947 50 L.

BUTTS, H. R. The Glorification of Athens in Greek Drama. 247 pages. Privately printed, available from the author, 305 East Park St., Vandalia, Mo. 1947 (Iowa Studies in Classical Philology, Number xi) \$4.00.

CLARK, DONALD LEMAN. John Milton at St. Paul's School: A study of ancient rhetoric in English Renaissance education. 279 pages, frontispiece, map. Columbia University Press, New York 1948 \$3.50.

DE LABRIOLLE, PIERRE. Histoire de la littérature latine chrétienne. Two volumes. Belles Lettres, Paris 1948.

THOMSON, J. A. K. The Classical Background of English Literature. 272 pages. Allen & Unwin, London 1948 12s. 6d.

## 3. LINGUISTICS, GRAMMAR, METRICS

PISANI, V. Manuale storico della lingua greca. xviii+242 pages. Sansoni, Florence 1947 900 L.

SAUVY, L. Grammaire latine complète. 372 pages. Lanore, Paris 1947 195 fr.

## 4. HISTORY, SOCIAL STUDIES

FESTUGIÈRE, A. J. Hippocrate: L'ancienne médecine. Klincksieck, Paris 1948 (Études et commentaires, 4)

GIOFFREDI, C. Contributo allo studio del processo civile romano, con note critiche e spunti ricostruttivi. 94 pages. Giuffrè, Milan 1947 400 L.

GRIPPE, ELIE. La Gaule chrétienne à l'époque romaine. T. I: Des origines chrétiennes à la fin du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle. xii+304 pages. Picard, Paris 1948 300 fr.

GROUSSET, R. Histoire de l'Arménie des origines à 1071. 656 pages, ill., maps. Payot, Paris 1948 1500 fr.

HAWKES, C. F. C. Archaeology and the History of Europe. 24 pages. Oxford, London 1948 2s.

HROZNY, BEDRICH. Histoire de l'Asie antérieure de l'Inde à la Crète jusqu'au début du second millénaire. 352 pages, ill., maps. Payot, Paris 1948 840 fr.

LEPOINTE, GABRIEL. La famille dans l'ancien droit. 400 pages. Domat-Montchrestien, Paris 1947 150 fr.

MONIER, RAYMOND. Manuel de droit romain, T. II. Domat-Montchrestien, Paris 1948 650 fr.

DE MUCCI, G. L'educazione morale nell'antica Roma. 46 pages. Carbone e Garcea, Messina 1947 100 L.

NARDI, E. Studi sulla intenzione in diritto romano. xv+508. Giuffrè, Milan 1947 1200 L.

PRÉHISTOIRE, T. X. 220 pages, 29 plates. Presses Universitaires de France, Paris 1948 500 fr.

WAGENVOORT, H. Roman Dynamism. 214 pages. Blackwell, London 1948 15s.

WALTER, GÉRARD. La destruction de Carthage. 512 pages, ill., maps. Samogé, Paris 1947 480 fr.

ZACHARIAS, H. C. E. Protohistory: An explicative account of the development of human thought from palaeolithic times to the Persian monarchy. 398 pages, ill. Herder, St. Louis 1948 \$4.00.

## 5. PHILOSOPHY, RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY

BIBLE. LYONS, W. N. and M. M. PARVIS. New Testament Literature: An annotated bibliography. 392 pages. University of Chicago Press, Chicago 1948 \$4.00.

CRESSON, ANDRÉ. Socrate. 132 pages. Presses Universitaires de France, Paris 1947 75 fr.

GOGUEL, MAURICE. L'église primitive. Jésus et les origines du christianisme. 640 pages. Payot, Paris 1947 840 fr.

JAEGER, WERNER. The Theology of the Early Greek Philosophers. 259 pages. Oxford, New York 1948 \$5.00.

LESIMPLE, EMILE. Religions antiques et spiritualité chrétienne. Les éditions nouvelles, Paris 1947 120 fr.

## 6. ARCHAEOLOGY, ANTHROPOLOGY

ALBENQUE, A. Inventaire de l'archéologie gallo-romaine, du département de l'Aveyron. 204 pages, 40 plates, 3 maps. Carrère, Paris 1947 390 fr.

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tion in Italy from the Prehistoric Period to Augustus. xxi+421 pages, 57 plates. Carnegie Institute, Washington 1947 \$9.00.

DIMITRAOV, D. P. I medaglioni sepolcrali isolati nella valle del Medio Struma e nella Macedonia settentrionale. 16 pages, 6 plates. Istituto di studi Romani, Rome 1947 50 L.

FOUCHER, A. Mémoires de la délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan. T. I, Vol. 2: La vicelle route de l'Inde de Bactis à Taxila. 250 pages, ill., maps, 8 plates. Van Oest, Paris 1948 1800 fr.

MATURI, A. Introduzione allo studio di Pompei (Il fóro e i suoi monumenti). 184 pages. Pironti, Naples 1947.

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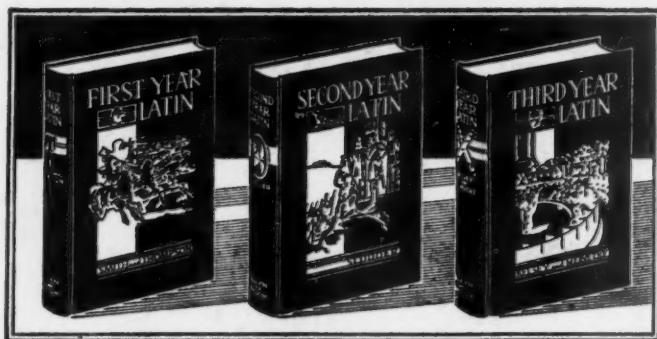
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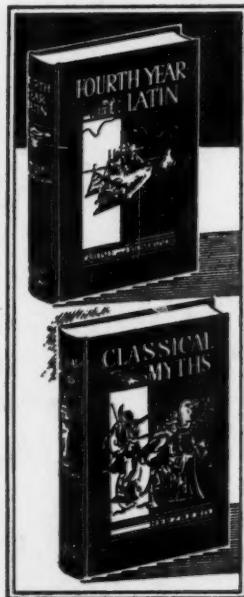
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